

Race Problem - 1918

Africa

THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

The war is over. Every thoughtful Negro in this country is asking what about Africa. The war was fought for democracy—at least we were so told. We are expecting that as its outcome there will be larger privilege for small nations, and that mere military superiority will not be the sole determinant of right when there are conflicting interests.

At present Africa is not owned by the Africans, is not ruled for the Africans, nor is it developed in the interest of Africans. The partition of Africa between European nations started about forty-five years ago, and has resulted in the distribution of Africa's eleven and a half million square miles about as follows:

Sq. Miles	Sq. Miles.
To England 1,101,411	To Portugal 787,500
To England (Egypt). 1,600,000	To Belgium 900,000
To France 3,866,950	To Turkey 400,000
To Germany 910,150	To Spain 79,800
To Italy 200,000	Independent Africa... 613,900

Thus it is seen that less than six per cent. of Africa is to-day independent. The independent states are Abyssinia, Morocco and Liberia. The German possessions are:

Sq. Miles
German East Africa..... 364,000
German Southwest Africa..... 322,450
Cameron 190,000
Togoland 33,000
Total..... 910,150

Germany owns property in Africa in area larger than all the States of the United States east of the Mississippi River. This property is to be taken away from her. The question is what shall be done with it?

It is certain that the Negroes of America do not want any of this property to go to any country that now has colonies in Africa. There is nothing in the history of their treatment of the Africans to commend them, and we believe it quite contrary to the spirit in which the war was waged—at least from our American point of view—to force any of these African colonies to further selfish exploitation by selfish European countries.

If the true spirit of the victory over Germany shall be carried out in the disposition of her African colonies, one of two things will be done.

One of them is to give these African colonies a free government just as it is contemplated to give free governments to small countries in Europe. If the claim of race has any validity among small European governments, certainly it is tenfold stronger among the Africans, for there is certainly no racial relation between African and Englishman or French and Belgium.

If, however, it should be found that these African states are not able to stand by themselves as independent nations, the United States, which now has no interest in African territory, and whose traditions are against colonization, and has no entangling African alliances, should be asked to exercise a sort of protectorate over these African states, and the United States should be given such authority as will permit her to enter upon a vigorous campaign of education for African uplift. Let this work of education be done by American Negroes and African Negroes as far as can be done. Let it be distinctly understood that this is for the good of Africa and not for her exploitation.

This will, we believe, be acceptable to both the African and American Negro. It will recognize the natural tie which should bind these people of common ancestry. It will furnish a new ambition for American Negroes and will improve the morale of the race at home as nothing we know of. It will open up an opportunity for the few who may care to return to a Negro state in Africa to do so, and it will start to give one of the greatest of the five great races a place in the sun.

It has been a reflection upon Christianity that Africa has been so exploited, and not a few Africans believe that Belgium suffered so sorely in this war because she treated her Africans in the Congo so cruelly, and God used the German to punish her. Be that as it may, the chance now presented for Christianity to redeem itself so far as Africa is concerned—for America and Europe to wipe off the stain of Negro slave trade and African exploitation. Will they do so?

Certainly the valor of 700,000 Africans who fought with the Allies and 300,000 American Negroes who fought valiantly for Democracy, deserves this recognition. America could pay her colored citizens in no better way than to see that it is given. The United States shall certainly aid the Jews in securing Palestine, their native home, if they want it. The United States has already given recognition to the Czecho Slovak Government. Why should it not give twelve million Negroes have some recognition for their fatherland?

These not matter that some of the German colonies have been occupied by Allied troops. Had not America entered the war they not only have kept these colonies, but would not have been able to have their own territory.

We trust that everywhere the Negroes will become a unit upon this subject and put up such a request that it cannot be turned down at the peace conference.

HOW TO SOLVE THE AFRICAN PROBLEM.

Rev. Cornelius H. Patton, D. D., author of "The Lure of Africa," at the recent conference on Africa, delivered an address which appears in the *Missionary Review of the World* for January. Dr. Patton says:

"Two main problems confront us as we discuss a continental constructive program for Africa: the Mohammedan advanced and the rapid spread of a materialistic civilization. In Livingstone's time the problems were war and slavery; today they are Islam and a godless commercialism. Each situation calls for a painstaking and scientific study before final conclusions are reached * * * *

"The missionary occupation of the Sudan would seem to be the first of all a problem of cooperation. The distances from the centers of commerce are so vast, the difficulties of transportation so insistent, and the pressure of Islam so constant that no one denomination may hope to meet the situation by itself. It is doubtful if a group of denominations working separately could hold back the Mohammedan tide. What is needed is a Board of African Strategy, which could lay out a comprehensive plan and then allocate the districts to the appropriate Christian bodies * * * *

"As serious as is the situation caused by the advancing Moslem hosts from the north, we must consider that even more serious is the situation created by the destructive effects of the type of commercialism which is spreading over Africa from the centers of trade and government. In this tidal wave of selfishness the very existence of the African race is involved. For many a tribe it is a question of redemption or extinction. Are we to see repeated in the Dark Continent which already has fallen upon the aborigines of Australia? Are the tribes of Central and Western Africa to go the way of the Hottentots and Kaffirs of the South? In Mozambique the natives have invented the expression, "Chizungu cha kupungaja," meaning "Civilization has spoiled you." That is one of the saddest phrases of human speech. The ignorant savage of the forest, looking upon his fellow who has come under the influence of the white man of the city, says of him in scorn, "He is a spoiled creature."

LYNN MASS NEWS
OCTOBER 14, 1918

COLOR QUESTION IN THE TRANSVAAL

The Transvaal is now discussing whether unskilled labor shall be the exclusive property of Kaffir natives or whether white men shall be employed for such work. There is considerable difference of opinion in the matter, and although certain interests oppose the employment of white men at comparative high wages, several newspapers and organizations are strong in favor of educating white men to perform all the important work of the country.

One objection to the employment of white men for unskilled work is that it may bar blacks from employment of any kind. White labor now has a monopoly of the skilled trades and there is a possibility that the high wages for white unskilled labor may cause employers to hire white men exclusively as they refuse to pay the same money to blacks.

BRITISH JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to the King Williams River, South Africa, Native Opinion, Justice Hopley at Salisbury sentenced a European police corporal named Edward Webb to twelve months in jail at hard labor, the accused having been found guilty of assaulting a native. It says further: May 11, 1918.

The evidence showed that accused hung the native from the branch of a tree and sjamboked him in order to extort a confession, that he also burned the native with a lighted lamp, and gave instructions that he was not to have bread or water for four days. Addressing the accused, Justice Hopley said the jury had found him guilty on both counts. They believed he had used the sjambok in a brutal fashion and for the purpose of extorting a confession. They knew also, from the accused's own confessions, that complainant was at once suspended from a beam. That a man like the accused, an Englishman, "the pride of Devon," as it was said, should descend to such methods, should consider himself capable of doing such things in this country, where there were hundreds of thousands of natives whom they were trying to raise to civilization and in whom they were endeavoring to instill a sense of British justice, and a man who had been placed in the country to see that law and order were carried out—it made other Englishmen ashamed. It only wanted a few men like the accused to set the whole country ablaze and set it in rebellion.

The fact that a jail sentence was imposed upon the official offender in this case, in conjunction with the remarks of the judge, shows that the British administration is not totally blind to the danger of unrestrained abuse of the natives by autocratic officials. That there is need of such restraint has been shown in many instances reported in the African native press.

The Hun in Africa

ALMOST the worst evidence which has been produced against "kultur" is that contained in the Blue Book on the subject of German administration in South West Africa. It is in the treatment of native people such as the Hereros, Hottentots or Berg Damaras that the true instincts of a nation may be seen. These African natives are scarcely more than overgrown children, they evince little of the curious innate ability of the native of Hindustan, nor do they seem possessed of the self-reliance of the Red Indian. Their government, consequently, should have been a peculiar trust to the German Colonial Office. Instead of this, from the very first, the German officials treated them as no better than their own cattle. And when, goaded into madness by such methods, they rebelled, the Colonial Office imported an official who had distinguished himself by his brutality in the suppression of the Boxer outbreak, and who proceeded to carry out a campaign of extermination, from which the Turks and Kurds of Asia Minor had little to learn when the unfortunate Armenians fell into their hands.

A great deal has been heard of the massacres of the Armenians by the Turks, but behind the veil of German secrecy, in Africa, there has been enacted a tragedy as bad as anything ever attempted in Armenia. Whilst, however, the Muhammadan Turk has been held up to execration, the Christian German has succeeded, or at all events succeeded until lately, in hiding the evidence of his guilt. This evidence is now made public in detail, for the first time, and the publication of it should remove the hesitation any person may be under of imagining that the German could be held in any way as irresponsible for the massacre of the Armenians in Asia. The Government in Berlin could just as easily have prevented the murderous policy of Enver Pasha and Talaat Pasha, in Anatolia, as it could that of Herr Trotha in Africa. The worst horrors perpetrated by Enver and Talaat may indeed easily be matched in the records of Herr Trotha in China and in German East and West Africa.

When Herr Trotha came to German West Africa the three principal native tribes, according to the lowest German estimates, were numbered as follows: Hereros 80,000, Hottentots 20,000, Berg Damaras 30,000. This was in 1904. When the hand of Herr Trotha was raised, the tribes had been nearly exterminated. The census of 1911 showed the numbers as follows: Hereros 15,000, Hottentots 9,800 and Berg Damaras 12,800. In other words 130,000 people had been reduced to 37,600. It is not much to be wondered at, in such circumstances, that the natives are utterly opposed to being thrust back again under the German yoke, and that the mere suggestion that the German will return, at the end of the war, fills them with horror. This brutal and senseless massacre of the natives was brought about through an extermination order issued by Herr Trotha. In this order it was precisely directed that neither man, woman, nor child was to receive mercy or quarter. In what way this differs from the Armenian

massacres it would be difficult to say, with the single exception, perhaps, that the last Armenian massacre took place at the time when German authority was omnipotent in Constantinople, and when a single word from Germany would have been sufficient to have saved the Armenian people. That word was not likely, however, to have been given. The measure which the German Government dealt to the African natives was the measure it desired to see dealt to the Chinese rebels. Why, therefore, should it have interfered to save the Armenian peasant? Governor Leutwein was withdrawn from West Africa because he was too lenient, and his place taken by Herr Trotha. But listen to the Kaiser himself, addressing the Chinese expeditionary force in 1900, some four years before the African massacres: "You know very well that you are to fight against a cunning, brave, well-armed and terrible enemy. If you come to grips with him, be assured quarter will not be given, no prisoners will be taken. Use your weapons in such a way that, for a thousand years, no Chinese shall dare to look upon a German askance. Be as terrible as Attila's Huns." It was the Kaiser, therefore, who first gave the German Army the title of Huns. It was the

Kaiser who refused quarter to the Chinese as his lieutenant, Trotha, refused quarter to the African natives. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Kaiser should not have intervened to prevent the murder of the Armenians. One Turkish statesman, at all events, who washed his hands of the whole dreadful business, and found safety without the Ottoman Empire, has frankly declared that if Talaat and Enver were the hands which wrought the deed, the voice that directed it was the voice of Germany. To return, however, to the African sheep, and to the templated in Patelin's famous phrase. The German colonists found the African flocks more valuable in their hands than their owners, though this it ultimately proved was a shortsighted view. Thus, in the year 1897, the Hereros possessed 90,000 head of cattle. By 1902, however, this figure had been almost exactly halved, and was represented by 45,898, whilst strangely enough the cattle of the 1051 German traders and farmers had in the

meantime risen to 44,487, so that it is not particularly difficult to see how the balance was struck. When indeed, that remarkable exponent of "kultur," Professor Rohrbach came, in 1915, to condemn the extermination of the Hereros tribe, he based his objection not on the fate of the tribe, but on the fate of the cattle. The wiping out of the tribe had meant necessarily the wiping out of the cattle. The interdependence of the two economic factors had, by 1915, dawned upon the perception of the professor. and he was denunciatory of the German Colonial policy, not in that it had exterminated the Hereros, but in that it had exterminated the Hereros' cattle, through a misunderstanding of the economic value of the Herero himself. As a matter of fact the West African native has been reduced by German administration to a complete slave. Nothing that ever happened on the southern plantations in the United States is comparable with the brutality of the German administration in Africa. Not

even the family of the native, who was technically a free-man, was sacred. The family could be separated, and the women outraged, not only without the interference of the law, but with the connivance of the law. Indeed, as one German authority naively states, since the law depended upon the military force of the government there was no necessity to pay any attention to the rights of the governed. One single instance of what this means is preserved in the records of a British court. A certain Lieutenant Venuloth caught two natives, one of whom was a woman, in what he believed to be a stock theft. It never occurred to him to bring them before a legally constituted court. He proceeded to try them by a drum-head court-martial, in which he himself acted as president and complainant, as prosecuting attorney and chief witness. The prisoners were not even brought before the court; no evidence was taken, beyond the evidence of the complainant given to himself as judge. The prisoners were even found guilty in their absence, by means of the eloquence of the complainant as prosecuting attorney, sentenced to death by the prosecuting attorney, sitting as judge, and executed by the judge in his office as military officer of the district.

If the incident were not at once a crime and a tragedy you would have to go to a Gilbert and Sullivan opera for a parallel to it, and find it in the person of him whom the inimitable Reynolds' Weekly would once have described as that "bloated pluralist" Pooh-Bah. Pooh-Bah, it will be remembered, as Private Secretary, gave advice which was contrary to his duty as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and then as private Solicitor further advised risking the fiat of the Chancellor, though as Lord Chief Justice he was there to see that the law was not violated, in spite of the fact that as Paymaster General he could have cooked the accounts, had it not been that as Lord Chief Auditor he would have been compelled to discover the fraud. It remained possible to him, it is true, as First Lord of the Treasury to propose a special vote to get over all this difficulty, but then as Leader of the Opposition it was necessary for him to oppose that vote. A fact which resulted in his being compelled as Archbishop of the country to denounce his own dishonesty, and to remand himself to his own custody as First Commissioner of the Police.

It is very obvious that, in German West Africa, comedy and tragedy come as near to one another as on the stage of the theater.

WORCESTER MASS FELICITATION JANUARY 15, 1918 FRENCH COLORED SOLDIERS TREATED BETTER THAN OURS

"France's treatment of her colored soldiers is so much fairer and just and undiscriminatory than the United States' treatment of her black legions that there is no comparison," writes Herman L. Moss, who is somewhere in France with the 15th New York regiment, to his father, Thomas L. Moss. "In the French army today there are two colored generals, four colonels and 150 captains, and lieutenants too numerous to mention. "This is a much better showing than is made by the United States, which country has not even an officer as high as a colonel in the regular army, although the United States' population numbers more than 10,000,000 black folks.

There is absolutely no color line over here in France. Moss before he enlisted with the New York regiment lived in Worcester and is well known among his people in this city.

Africa

AMERICAN COLONIES IN AFRICA?—The future of the former German colonies is now much under discussion in Europe, and many think that America should bear her share of "the white man's burden." The *Manchester Guardian* says:

"Some of those who are interested in colonial questions are asking whether the time is not coming when America will reconsider her attitude with regard to undertaking territorial obligations in the backward regions of the earth."

"If the administration of the German colonies is to be added to the already enormous burden resting upon the British Empire, this burden—if it is to be carried alone by us or even shared in some manner between Great Britain and France—may become altogether too unwieldy. There is the greatest need in colonial administration of the efficient and liberal-minded help which America could supply."

"An obvious suggestion is that America might undertake the responsibility for the administration of Liberia. The miserably

from these colonies. There is also the treatment of the native peoples. Nothing could be worse than the record of Germany in this respect. No other nation would have erected two statues to such a person as Captain Dominik, the tyrant of the Kamerun, who on one occasion, after raiding a village and capturing fifty-two children, placed them in baskets and 'threw them into the Nachtigal Rapids to provide sport for his men.'"

The idea of passing the German colonies over to an international board is discust and rejected by the *London Spectator*:

"If Germany is not to have her colonies restored to her, to whom are they to be entrusted, for they can not be left derelict? Let us say, to begin with, that we have *per se* no land hunger—no aggressive desire to lay hands upon them and to include them in the British Empire. We have plenty of territorial burdens already in Africa and in the Pacific, and we do not believe that even the most acquisitive of Imperial expansionists here would ever think of demanding fresh colonies as compensation, or as substitutes for an indemnity, or as ours by right of conquest. They are possessions which are far more likely to draw money out of the pockets of the British taxpayer than to put money in. If, then, any other solution which is sound and reasonable

but the *London weekly* fears that we could not be induced to accept them:

"If we rule out Internationalism, as clearly we must, who else could undertake the job? We are confident that the French, even tho they may, and indeed almost certainly will, find it necessary to take over Togoland and the Kamerun, would regard further African colonial possessions as a burden and an obligation rather than a benefit. The only other possible Power besides ourselves is, therefore, America. And here we may say with complete frankness and truth that the majority of the British people, and we believe of the people of the Dominions, would be delighted to see the Americans take over and protect and develop as large a part of the ex-colonies of Germany as they could be induced to accept. They are good, not bad, neighbors, and neither Australia, nor New Zealand, nor South Africa, nor the Colonial Office as representing British East Africa, would do anything but welcome them as successors to Germany. We are not, however, going to pretend that we are unaware of the dislike of the people of the United States to extending their overseas possessions. In spite of great provocation, and not only disturbance but actual outrage on their borders, the American people, as we know, absolutely refused to accept any territorial responsibility in Mexico or in any part of South America. We feel certain that they would tell us that the burdens which they have taken up in the Philippine Islands and in the Isthmus of Panama afford them not only as much external responsibility as they desire, but a good deal more."

The *Spectator* shakes its head over the fact that Samoa is likely to be the only territorial acquisition that we shall take over as a result of the war, and says it is up to Britain:

"But if we are right in our surmise that the Americans will never plunge their hands into 'the seething pot' of Africa, and would not even desire to extend their Philippine rule into New Guinea, tho possibly they might take Samoa, the force of circumstances will render it necessary for us, who are already in possession, and whose long-established colonies surround the late German colonies, to incorporate the latter in the British Empire."

America has another duty to Africa, the *London correspondent* of the *Manchester Guardian* tells us, and that lies in the direction of prohibition:

"Why should not America assist civilization in extending prohibition to the entire African continent? There is at the present moment a bill before Congress which proposes to prohibit the export of drink from America. Soon after the outbreak of war, when the sale of German spirits was cut off from Africa, a trade was started from America to take its place, and assumed considerable proportions. This trade has recently been stopt for the period of the war, and the bill now before Congress is intended to stop it altogether. What is hoped is that at the Peace Conference America will take the lead in bringing about, with the cooperation of the Great Powers, the total prohibition of the unrestricted sale of alcohol both to natives and to white men."

"The chief difficulty, of course, would be with regard to South Africa, where there has been prohibition to the natives for a long time. It is well known that the South-African Government are very impatient of outside interference, but they are susceptible to advice and might follow a lead given in other territories. The experience in South Africa has been that it is impossible, so long as drink is obtainable by the whites, to prevent its finding its way by illicit trading to the natives, and with deplorable results. A large number of responsible white men who have given evidence before a recent commission in South Africa were of opinion that the only proper solution was total prohibition to white men and to black alike."



THE BRITISH REPLY.
"The Get-Together Boys."

—*Evening News* (London).

disturbed and backward state of this black republic is sufficiently well known, and America has a peculiar interest in it because there is in the country a population of some 10,000 half-castes and negroes who are American citizens."

SHALL WE TAKE GERMAN AFRICA?

AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS does not appear on any of the peace programs thus far published. "Self-determination" doesn't seem to go south of Suez. The Africans are still considered a "white man's burden," and as Germany steps out it is now suggested by some of the London papers that America step in and relieve Great Britain, which is already overburdened with colonies. The *London Daily Mail* tells us that some one has to assume responsibility, and it certainly can never again be the Germans:

"In his speech at the Australian and New Zealand Club Mr. Balfour made the welcome announcement that in no circumstances does he think it consistent with the safety of the British Empire to return the Hun colonies to Germany."

"There is not only the question of the safety of the Empire and its communications against piratical attack by U-boats



LOVE HIM? WELL, WOULDN'T YOU?

—*Evening News* (London).

and which will not prove injurious to the native inhabitants, can be found, it will amply satisfy the British people, and, we believe, the people of the Dominions concerned—i.e., Australia, New Zealand, and the South African Union. Against one solution, however, a word of protest must be said, and the sooner the better. We sincerely trust that no attempt will be made to place the ex-German colonies under some sort of International Board or other mixed organization. Colonies are like children, and a child will never develop or be nappily and successfully brought up by a committee instead of by a parent or an adopted parent. Internationalism was tried in the case of the Congo, with results which no none desires to see repeated. Tropical colonies placed like East Africa and New Guinea can never become independent, self-governing states. Colonies require sacrifices, and very considerable sacrifices, and these will never be made by an International Board."

The ideal solution of the problem would be, says *The Spectator*, to turn over to America the German colonies as they stand,

UNIVERSITY MEN ARE IMPERATIVELY NEEDED IN AFRICA.

AFRICA NEEDS University men. This is the news that Eben S. Johnson, Bishop of Africa, brings back to us. In his opinion, the day is past when any man or woman with a high school education, a smattering of general knowledge and a gift of eloquence, was good enough to send out for the instruction and edification of the benighted black man.

Africa needs men with the evangelical gift, to be sure. As Bishop Johnson says, "We need men touched with the finger of God." "But," he goes on, "there are people out in the mission field who think that God puts the word into their mouths, they speak, and the Spirit of God will do the rest. It is not so."

Any missionary who goes to Africa today, and, once there, settles down to a narrow round of evangelical duties, will not accomplish what he is sent there to accomplish. A man who knows nothing of psychology will not be able to follow the workings of the minds stowed away in the woolly black heads. If he cannot follow the workings of these minds he will have great difficulty in leading them the way he wants them to go.

The man who knows nothing about comparative religions and mythology will not be able to enter sympathetically into the native's strange way of regarding the different phases of man's life. The native already believes in a power, which is a spirit. His fetish of sticks and feathers bear witness throughout the length and breadth of Africa, to his belief in the power of spirits. It is a question of leading him from spirits to spirituality, from terror to trust.

It takes a real scientist—not one who has learned by heart some portion of an elementary text-book—to convince these people that the earth is round, and that beyond the water which thunders on their coasts there are other lands and other people.

But, most of all, Bishop Johnson says, the white man needs to sit down very humbly beside the black man and learn his language. Though it may seem like a strange jumble and mumble of sounds, it is in reality a language fully as expressive as English; in fact, in many cases, it is more expressive, being capable of infinite variety of shades in meaning. In English we either call a man a liar, or we don't; or, possibly, by a clumsy, roundabout phrase, we imply that he is a liar. The African, in one short word—"ikona"—informs a man that, while he is not so rude as to call him a liar, yet he does not believe what he says.

WAR IS BRINGING DEMOCRACY TO AFRICA.

MOHAMMEDAN YOUTHS GETTING NEW OUTLOOK FROM LIFE IN EUROPEAN TRENCHES.

North Africa will be a new country after the war, said Dr. E. F. Frease, recently arrived in America on a furlough from his work in the Methodist Mission in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. The boys of these countries are fighting with the allies in Europe and their return will mean the same changes in outlook and purpose which are expected among the other men who take part in the great struggle.

Mohammedanism will suffer a notable change, in the opinion of Dr. Frease. A large percentage of Mohammedan boys are going out in the armies. Those that escape the draft are going as workmen. It means that a very large proportion of the youth of North Africa is going away from home and coming into contact with European and American customs and ideals. When these boys come back they will never be the same again.

Dr. Frease believes these men will work for democracy

at home. He sees an end of much of the prejudice and exclusiveness of Mohammedanism from this very cause. He expects large opportunities to confront Methodism for making inroads upon Mohammedanism. Already the Church is at work with its school and homes for boys and girls, and this work will be extended through the larger plans of the Centenary and built into a strong aggressive system in this Mohammedan territory.

Literary Digest 3-16-18

EXTRA.

The Kobe Herald.

OFFICE:—No. 23, NANIWA MACHI.

TELEPHONE No. 1335.

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 12, 1917. 10.00 A.M.

CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM.

London, Dec. 11.—Mr. Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced to-day in the House of Commons that Jerusalem had surrendered after being invested.—*Reuter.*—*Osaka Asahi.*

A LARGE "EXTRA."

This is an exact reproduction of the special edition of the Kobe Herald—a prominent journal in Japan—announcing the fall of Jerusalem. No charge was made for this "extra."

PRESIDENT WILSON CHILLS AFRICA

KEEN DISAPPOINTMENT IS FELT by intelligent Africans at the negative attitude displayed by the President over the question of Germany's colonies, and her claims to an extended colonial empire in Africa. In the London *African Times and Orient Review*, the editor, Mr. Dusé Mohamed Ali, a well-known Egyptian writer and publicist, says:

"It is with regret that we note the remarks contained in clause five of President Wilson's statement.

"The United States President says: 'A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial

claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.'

"We would like to know why Mr. Wilson desires the title of the German Government to be determined, and why—in Africa at least—she is presumed to possess a title. Such title has no validity in fact, except that of the weakness of the population, which made it possible for Germany to occupy the country without encountering armed native opposition. Germany, and, for that matter, other Europeans have no equitable claims whatever in Africa. We have accepted the rule imposed by Europeans, and in the old days Europeans were just, but of late years we have become rather tired of European aggression, restrictions, and segregations. Nevertheless, altho this war was none of our seeking, out of evil good may come to us."

This writer expresses satisfaction with the stand taken by the

British Prime Minister, who recently stated that the German colonies "are held at the disposal of a conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants of such colonies." He points out that—

"Mr. Lloyd George has clearly stated that the matter must be left in the hands of the natives, who, through their chiefs, have and have had for centuries, the machinery for dealing with so small a matter as a plebiscite, in which the matter of beads will not enter, as a certain financial adventurer is pleased to state."

Mr. Dusé Mohamed Ali's views on the subject express the view of educated Africans in general. The *Lagos Standard*, a leading organ in southern Nigeria, observes, for instance:

"German aggressive influence, checked in Europe, must necessarily and logically be nipt in the bud in Africa. Deprived of her colonies, as she is now, what else could Germanized Africa hope for but what Germanized Europe is made to hope for? Comparatively speaking, and measured politically, Africa is a small state and her people a weak nation.

"We hope reason and justice may be considered as pledged to Africa, whose peoples are the most wronged, most oppressed, and decidedly the weakest peoples inhabiting this planet. Will this right and claim be denied us?"

Africa

THE GREEN TABLE

Some time the war must end—the German forces be defeated. It may be soon. It may be after one year or two years. But the war will be ended—and ended with victory for the Allies. And already the wise leaders of the various peoples are making their preparations for that final contest of right and wrong around the green table of diplomacy.

The Belgians are ready with their demands, the Serbians, the Czecho-Slovaks, the Poles all know what they want and will not hesitate to voice their demands. The Negro Races have given for world democracy as much as any of these. From Africa's sunny fertile plains, from romantic West Indian Islands and rich South American lands, from many a Southern cabin and Northern tenement have issued the Negro millions to the defence of Right over Might and of Civilization over Prussianism. Surely, "if blood be the price of Empire, Lord God, we have paid in full"! Certainly if those who fight for Liberty and Democracy are entitled to participate in their blessings, then has the Negro earned the right to both! But the nations are busy, and they are extremely forgetful of service rendered. Furthermore, they are in times of peace and ease extremely selfish and unmindful of all other interests save their own. Therefore whatever the Negro gains he must gain now—while the war is on and his work for Democracy and Liberty is still remembered. After the war it will be forgotten. And whatever he wants—and this he must decide quickly—he must ask for now! And in the asking he must confine himself within the realms of reasonable possibility and be able to recognize the facts of human nature and be guided by the lessons of human experience which above all else teaches the impossibility of two extremely different races living together in peace, equity and equality.

Africa calls aloud, not merely for her overseas sons to return to her bosom, but for all her blood to unite in the fight for "Africa for the Africans," so that, having a powerful nation behind them—as the Japanese have Japan—all sections of the Ethiopic race wherever residing, may find respect and glory, as of old, in the name of Negro.

Given a strong, independent Negro nation and the present almost universal oppression of the Negro will automatically come to an end. Force is the great earner of respect! Without such a nation not all the laws that may be written into the statute books of the white nations will alter the status of the Negro.

A FREE AFRICA

Of vast importance to the future happiness of the Negro race—and more especially to those sections in the New World—is the final and equitable settlement of the African Question which was apparently promised by President Wilson when he declared at different times for "the perpetuation of the Rights of man," "the rights of peoples—great and small," "the undictated development of all peoples," "self-determination for all peoples," and most directly for "the settlement of every question on the basis of the free acceptance by the people immediately concerned and not upon

the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery."

Certainly if the President's words mean anything they stand for a readjustment of African affairs from the settlement of force, effected some years ago, to a just settlement and self-government for the African peoples.

Now, the importance of a free Africa cannot be overlooked. The effect of a free and strongly organized Africa would be felt around the world, affecting even the status of the Brazilian Negroes—the most fortunately situated of the race in the New World. A free Africa would bring the Brazilian Negroes new guarantees and new privileges, deeper pride, a greater safety and a wider outlook upon the world and world affairs. And if a free Africa would effect this for the Brazilian Negroes who are at present respected in their citizen rights, protected in their rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and, in a word, recognized as having the right to aspire to and to occupy the highest office in the land, even unto the Presidency, what would it not do for those other sections of the Race who are not so fortunately situated? The least it could do for these others would be to offer a haven to those who preferred to indulge in the adventure of immigrating to protestingly remaining in countries where their manhood and citizen rights were denied them.

BOSTON MASS C S MONITOR
SEP 21, 1918

LIBERIA is offering the other cheek to her enemies with a vengeance! The Negro Republic is officially at war with Germany, and Monrovia, the capital, has had its wireless apparatus destroyed, but the government will not take defensive measures by the erection of fortifications. It prefers to rely upon international law and the Hague convention which exempts unfortified ports from bombardment! It is certainly refreshing to find that such confidence and trustfulness still exist somewhere in the world, in spite of all that has happened since the beginning of the war. One wonders if Liberia has really read

the newspapers.
**American Negro is
Bolshevist Leader**
BEAUMONT TEX ENTERPRISE
SEPTEMBER 20, 1918

A New York business man who visited bolshevist headquarters recently, tells in the October World's Work just published, of finding a New York negro governing 180 million people. He says "I made my way to Room 77, the foreign office. There was a great palaver going on. What was being said was not half so interesting as how it was being said. These officials conversed almost exclusively in English and German. They were not Russians. They were Jews. They did not talk Russian—they talked Bowery."

"While waiting my turn with the secretary, I paraded an unmistakable character—an American negro. Abandoning all business and decorum the functionary sprang from his seat and yelled:

"Hello, Johnny, what can I do for you?"

"The darkey was nothing if not

democratic. I ventured to hail him as a fellow New Yorker, hoping thus to expedite my business. He was delighted, and assuming command agreed to shove things through for me.

"What ministry do you belong to," said I.

"He grinned. 'To all the ministries. I am a member of the military revolutionary committee.'

"Johnny was glad to tell me all about his rise in the world. In New York he joined the I. W. W. and had been one of their end men and agitators. He was an associate of Max Eastman. He would have made an excellent South Carolina senator under the carpet-bagger regime. He confided to me that he was for anarchy without any frills. Since that time the bolsheviks have become too conservative to suit him, and he is now the recognized head of the anarchists of Russia."

AFRICA FOR DEMOCRACY.

The cry for democracy uttered by President Wilson, like that of human freedom uttered by the great Lincoln, is echoing around the world.

According to an African publication, "The Lagos Standard," West Coast Africa, the important Africans of that section are somewhat disturbed because the democracy enunciated from London has only to do with European countries. On that point the publication said in the latest issue to reach this country:

There is, as far as we could read, a meaning into the events of the hour the dawn of a New Era in the life of all weak nations and races. We flatter ourselves by including Africa as a continent amongst these weak nations, although there is an unfortunate weakness common to all the statesmen of the Entente Powers, for they all, in spoken and written language, limit the reform to "Europe." What this limitation means is a question for the future to decide. It is a decision which reason, justice and humanity dictate should err on the better side of valor by including unfortunate Africa and the Africans.

After some argument as to the possibility of being within the scope of the intent, the publication refers to President Wilson's address when declaring war. Then follows an analysis of the countries' attitudes wherein the position of our country is more admired because of the unquestioned stand of the President. The publication said:

Although England, our foster parent, has not come out as boldly and plainly as America through its President, but has confined herself to Europe, still, if we understand our foster parent's position clearly and intelligently, and if we in any way understand Africa's part she has been taking in the war by her sacrifice of men, lives and her widow's mite, to aid in the successful prosecution of the war, there is a loophole in England's declaration into which we may press the claim of a promise to expel from Africa the hordes of Europe that have been unfortunately influencing the life and thoughts of British administration in Africa.

After further observation, the publication concluded as follows:

Such are the promises we hope reason and justice may consider as pledged to Africa, whose peoples are the most wronged, most oppressed and decidedly the weakest of peoples inhabiting this plane. Will this right and claim be denied us?

So, America, you have very much to do to maintain your credit around the globe. The humblest nations, weak spineless-like caterpillars, are looking to you as "the hills of the Lord" from which strength comes. Here is more testimony of how we stand in the eyes of the world. No wonder we are jealous of our reputation and impatient at anything that seems to retard the program of redemption.

Native Africans and the War
The Christian Science Monitor
 ONE phase of the war about which comparatively little is heard, but the importance and possible effects of which it would be difficult to exaggerate, is the enormous assemblage of non-combatant labor from the semi-civilized peoples of the world to be found behind the lines on the western and other fronts. From time to time, special mention is made of what this people or that people have contributed in the way of fighting men and labor to the war, and most writers of war books have alluded to the "polyglot crowds behind the lines." It is to be suspected, however, that few people, even yet, have any just idea of the vast melting pot of races which is to be found behind the allied front, all the way from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier, to take only one instance. In this region are to be found, not in small units, but in hundreds and thousands, Chinese, Burmans, Indians, both those from India and those from Canada and the United States, Fijians, Algerians, Moroccans, Senegalese, representatives of every race in South Africa, and so on through a long list.

South Africa's contribution is particularly interesting, because amongst the native races at present in France are to be found representatives of all those peoples who, at one time or other, during the last thirty or forty years, have been in arms against the British rule in South Africa. Zulus, Basutos, Matabeles, and so on, are all recorded in the history of South Africa as one-time opponents of Great Britain, and now, today, they are giving of their best to help the British and the allied cause. They are to be seen, as Sir Herbert Sloley, a former resident commissioner in Basutoland, has said, felling trees, and handling timber in the forests of the Seine very much as they chop, lop, and strip the wattle plantations in Natal. They shift cargoes in French ports and railway stations, in the style they have learned in Cape Town and Durban, whilst their familiarity with railway construction and the blasting processes of the Johannesburg and Kimberley mines make them valuable as quarrymen and railway workers.

The whole idea represents a remarkable development, but perhaps the most interesting and important outcome of it all will be the effect that the return of these men will have upon their own people. It is true, as Sir Herbert Sloley has pointed out, that it is never possible to say exactly how a South African native will view a situation, or what will be the outstanding impression which he will take away from it; but that he will share in the vast pooling of thoughts and ideas, hopes and aspirations, which is taking place on all the battlefronts, cannot be questioned. No one who has had any experience of what this means can have any doubt that the result will mean progress, whatever the exact form it may take.

THE PERIL TO MISSIONARY AFRICA

TO WRECK all that missionaries have accomplished in Africa would be the result of allowing Germany to resume the control of the colonies now freed from her sway. This is pointed out in the *New York Tribune* by the Rev. William S. Rainsford, the former rector of St. George's Church, New York, and "a mighty hunter before the Lord,"

having spent nearly three years in Africa in the pursuit of big game. If one questions his knowledge of the Dark Continent one has but to read his book on "The Land on the Lion"; and the German menace that he sees there is in her ambition to create "an exact counterpart of her plan for Middle Europe." We read:

Literary Digest
 "She aims to establish a solid belt of country between the Indian Ocean and the southern Atlantic. By doing so she would cut the continent in two. She would again divide her enemies and rivals, she would keep them divided. . . . In Africa, as a colonizer, Germany's policy has been as clear as the day. She has beaten to the earth all native tribes; she has prepared herself 'to rush' her neighbors' territory. Yet these are not her chief offense against the peace of the great African land and against those who have chosen it for their home. That offense lies in her deliberate and declared intention to do in Africa what Englishman, Boer, Frenchman, Belgian, and Portuguese have so far not only refrained from doing, but have pledged themselves for Africa's advantage never to do, and that is this: Germany has proved her intention of building up in Central Africa a military state. If such a crime against humanity were to be allowed, then must we bid good-by to peace and progress and quiet in that unfortunate and blood-soaked land. The work of countless missionaries and civil servants would be undone, and the savage instincts of tribes who are just beginning to know the blessings of peaceful industry would be stirred and stimulated."

Dr. Rainsford does not pretend that, apart from the German sphere of influence, the condition of native races in equatorial Africa is wholly idyllic. "Belgian rule in the Kongo has been bad, Portuguese rule of the large and potentially rich possessions of that country has been unintelligent and selfish." But all the same—

"No one who has traveled in the country (and I have spent the best part of three years in it, lived among its tribes, and marched, with their assistance, several thousand miles) can be for a moment doubtful of the immense advance made and the good already done, largely owing to England's peaceable policy of occupation and civil rule. There has been little trace of militarism in England's rule. Up to 1914 she had, for instance, in all her immense East-African territory just two battalions of native infantry and one battery of artillery. She was wholly unprepared for war. Her colonization was absolutely pacific. Where climatic conditions were favorable to European settlement the country was being rapidly taken up. Where the climate was unfavorable, as in the rich Uganda region, the tribes were encouraged to practise better agricultural work by capable civil servants and by a large number of missionaries (several of them American, by the way), men and women devoted, and not only devoted, but as wise and far-seeing in their methods as any who ever left home and comfort to live lonely lives of hardship for the sake of their fellow men."

"Such men and such measures soon worked wonders among the natives. Slavery stopt. (And, be it remembered, the slave trade had flourished in East Africa since Solomon's time or before.) Intertribal war came almost to an end. Cattle rearing and throat-cutting became unpopular. The settlers were finding out very quickly that if they were to succeed in maintaining themselves they could only do so by engaging the friendly cooperation of the black people living at their doorstep. Their tragedies that too often have marked the entrance of the white man into an unoccupied or half-occupied region have in British territory been almost unknown."

"I may seem to be drawing too rosy a picture, but I know well that the men of the African Inland Mission (its headquarters are in Philadelphia) would indorse every word I say. I admit that in Portuguese and Belgian territories native labor has been forced and the natives at times very cruelly treated, but there can be no doubt that England, setting as she has a fine

example of fairness and humanity, was rising to a higher plane the whole standard of native administration on the continent."

Germany's avowed purpose to create a military colony out of her East-African tribes holds for her the lure of a splendid war-weapon, but for the tribesmen only a sure retrogression. Dr. Rainsford makes this clear:

"In those regions the black man has only lately met the white man. He has not yet learned to distinguish between men of the white nations. The white man, to him, is just the great white *Bwana* (master), armed with irresistible power, charged with life and death. He bows to him without question. To him he seems a god. He knows no other god. "Yes, Germany could do what she liked with these poor children of a dark land—bind them to her will, discipline them, and make them terrible in battle. And if her will were conquest and mastery—as, alas! all the world knows it to be to-day—then adieu! a long adieu! to all peaceful advancement in the largest and most backward of the quarters of the earth."

among oppressed peoples groaning under the heel of other colonizing powers," said *Der Tag*. "This touching devotion of our colored subjects is one of the reasons that justifies us in claiming complete restoration of our colonial dominions. Restoration must be a leading condition of peace." Any negro in Africa who has had any dealings with Germany's colonizing methods would cheerfully cut the throat of the first German he came across on general principle—and it must be justified in doing so.

By Fighting Huns, American Negroes Disrupt German Plan of Slavery Kingdom.
LINCOLN, NEB., STAR
AUGUST 20, 1918
By FLOYD MACGRIFF.

LONDON, Aug. 17.—Negroes fighting in the American army are doing their blood-relatives in Africa a good turn, besides aiding the cause of humanity in general. Germany's dream of world empire included a slavery kingdom in Central Africa.

"In Central Africa 500,000 Germans will find a free field of enterprise, and they can easily find 50,000,000 negroes from the Congo Basin to work for them," according to an article by Herr Zimmerman, ex-foreign secretary, in a long article in *Preussische Jahrbucher*. "In the heart of Africa," he said, "there are all the conditions necessary for the creation of a German colonial empire. There are fertile regions sparsely populated and containing an abundance of raw material."

"In these rich territories there may be constituted a compact Germanic group which will not run the risk of absorption by foreign nations, as in the case of the United States and Brazil."

"A splendid fleet will float on the Congo and its affluents; roads, canals and railways will be created. On the banks of Lake Chad, of the Congo, and the Tanganyika great cities will arise; Wilhelmstadt will take the place of Brazzaville. A fine railway, the Berlin-Congo line, will convey Germans to the Congo in five days."

"In another decade the German Colonial Empire will not alone compete with, but even surpass, the unenviable empire of Great Britain." Another German paper, *Der Tag*, says Germany is "an ideal colonizing power; the negroes of our colonies remain deeply attached to us even in days of trouble."

"Such an attachment is unknown

among oppressed peoples groaning under the heel of other colonizing powers," said *Der Tag*. "This touching devotion of our colored subjects is one of the reasons that justifies us in claiming complete restoration of our colonial dominions. Restoration must be a leading condition of peace."

Any negro in Africa who has had any dealings with Germany's colonizing methods would cheerfully cut the throat of the first German he came across on general principle—and it must be justified in doing so.

WANT NO COLORED TROOPS
Germany Says Use of Them in Palatinate Is an Insult

London Times-Public Ledger Service
Special Cable Dispatch
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Tangier, Dec. 8 (delayed).—A Nauen wireless telegram dated December 4 states the German Government has protested to France that the use of colored troops in the occupation of the Palatinate is an insult to the sentiments of a community of white races. With these colored troops is the admirable Moroccan contingent which fought valiantly on the western front. It was among these very regiments before their departure from Morocco that the Germans disseminated incendiary leaflets printed in Arabic, urging the regiments, in the name of Moslem Kaiser Holy Wilhelm, to massacre their French officers and declare a holy war on France.

It is the merest justice that the Germans of the Palatinate should be privileged to see these troops, whose loyalty never swerved and who, though coming from the wildest tribes of the interior of Morocco, look with horror upon the atrocities committed by the German soldiers in Belgium and France.

Africa

WITH RHINOCEROS WHIPS CRUEL GERMANS IN AFRICA BRING KULTUR TO NEGROES

DALLAS TEX TIMES HERALD
AUGUST 25, 1918

By Harrison Rhodes of The Vigilantes.

During the years when the German propagandists were working with the colored people of America, trying to make them disloyal to their country and their flag, they constantly hinted that the kaiser's love for the negro was so great that if, by some happy chance, he were ever to come into possession of these United States he would hand a few states or more over to negroes and see to it that they lived there in complete liberty and happiness. If any answer were needed to this preposterous claim it would be the conditions of slavery and suffering in which the unhappy native inhabitants of the German colonies in Africa lived until the great war finally rescued them from their oppressors.

Would Take Volumes.

It is not possible in the length of this article to give the complete documentary evidence of German crime—indeed, the monstrous story would take volumes. But such evidence is in hand, and it has not been necessary to trust any but German witnesses. Speeches in the Reichstag and articles in the German press tell the story, for the cruelties of German colonial government aroused even Germans to indignation, though not to any effective reform. How, indeed, could any reform be hoped for when the colonial administrators were such excellent places to send military and aristocratic gentlemen about whom scandal at home was too great to allow them to remain comfortably in Germany? When Herr von Puttkamer, for example, governor of the Cameroons, was in danger the home authorities did everything to shield him. Was he not the son of a minister of state and a nephew of Bismarck? Yet it was under his regime that a certain Captain Dominik on an expedition against a recalcitrant tribe, after he had captured a village and slaughtered all the inhabitants except fifty-two children, conceived the pretty idea of placing these children in wicker baskets made by his soldiers and then throwing them into the Nachtigal rapids, where they perished miserably. Herr von Puttkamer was informed of what had taken place, but took no steps in the matter.

The labor of the negro is the only thing wanted from him in a German colony. Education is definitely and officially thought detrimental to his value as a worker. But good hard labor—on most farms the roll call was at 4 a. m., and they continued work without break for food until 11, or noon; then after an hour's rest they were driven till dark, 6:30 or 7 p. m.—this was thought to be of "cultural value" and to "bring the native more closely in touch with the civilization of central Europe"—as indeed it did.

Slavery Prevails.

Voluntary labor was out of the question on the German plantations; almost universally forced labor, or slavery, if you prefer the more old-fashioned word, took its place. This was legally very easily effected in several ways. In some of the colonies a "hut tax" was imposed, too high to be paid by the natives, who were then forced to work it out for the authorities. Another way was to make it by law in that mailed German fist. And, wherever cumbent on natives to work a certain part, a quarter to a half, of each year into the French and English colonies, for white men. If a card proving this amount of service could not be shown, the native was forcibly seized and put

to work. And even here the delightful humor of the Teuton was at play, for it was a common custom with planters in making out these cards to count one day's work as only one-sixth of a day if any trifling offense on the worker's part could be alleged. But on the whole the system in essence was simply that the planters notified the authorities how much labor they needed and native soldiers under Prussian officers were sent out to bring it in. The labor, a good deal of which got killed or tortured or flogged or mutilated in the collecting, was brought in chained or roped together by the neck. And anything that could work was useful. In one German colony it was not unusual to see boys of from eight to ten years of age heavily chained together working on the public improvements.

Cruel Floggings.

For keeping negroes at work the Germans found nothing so satisfactory as flogging, preferably with a lash of rhinoceros hide. Sometimes when squeamish people at home objected a ruling would be made that only the rope should be used. But, bless your soul, if a good rope is repeatedly dipped in tar and dried and then tipped with sharp jagged metal it is almost as effective a "persuader" as the rawhide. All through Africa the German colonies are known as the lands of the Twenty-Five, meaning the twenty-five lashes which it is legal to administer to a black. There might have been a protest from the more virile Huns against this sentimental minimum, but the twenty-five lashes could be repeated the same day or the next, and indeed twenty-five could be made to cause permanent disablement, total nervous breakdown and even death if properly laid on the victim. The rule was that the whip must "sing" as it came through the air, and if the whipper failed to make it "sing" he was himself stripped, bound hand and foot and well flogged. Prussian efficiency.

As to the treatment of native women and even of little girls of eight or ten and of native men who dared to protest against this treatment the facts are almost unprintable. They deal with unspeakable bestiality and nameless mutilations. It is a chapter which could be understood in Belgium—here in a happier land such human depravity is almost unbelievable. Even the German courts were forced to attribute much to "the strain of tropical climate," but this was thought a quite sufficient excuse.

The Social Democrats in Germany and some of the other leaders (Babel and Erberger are among the familiar names) protested, but the most advanced pan-German thought was firm that African natives existed for the benefit of Prussia, not Prussia for the benefit of natives. The only negroes who received any consideration were soldiers—and here, as is right according to German standards, a soldier's word was always taken against anything a civilian might swear to. This of course made labor hunting better sport.

The only objection which a colonial junker could find with the system was that under it the native population in the German possessions dwindled. It was depleted by overwork and flogging, by disease and by war. Constant work it out for the authorities. An rebellion had to be put down with other way was to make it by law in that mailed German fist. And, wherever cumbent on natives to work a certain part, a quarter to a half, of each year into the French and English colonies, for white men. If a card proving this amount of service could not be shown, the native was forcibly seized and put

The world is called upon to face great issues. The issues are bigger than the times and the men of the times. Except here and there, there are very few who realize what the issues are, or have any clear idea as to the correct indication of the times. Generally there is a hazy idea that great changes are pending, but in what direction they lead, or why they are at all necessary, few have ventured to inquire. 8-24-18

At a time when the plans of Almighty God were complete to work a revolution in the opinions of men, Germany let loose the hell of war; and there are some who judge that Germany may be the scourge of Providence to bring men to a higher conception of duty to follow men.

Before the war, when the civilized world, so-called, spoke of man and one's duty to man, there seemed to be a certain amount of mental reservation in so far as the darker races were concerned.

But the attitude of civilization in this matter has been scotched. It was scotched in the Russo-Japanese war. It will be more greatly affected by the present war. In the case of Japan, for the first time in modern history, Europe and America were taught that the monopoly of successful warfare did not belong to them, and that, given opportunity, the East could measure swords with the West. Said a distinguished Japanese after the war in the Japanese House of Peers:

"The sacred duty is incumbent upon us, as the leading state of Asiatic progress, to stretched a helping hand to China, India, and Korea, to all the Asiatics who have confidence in us, and who are capable of civilization. As their more powerful friend, we desire them all to be free from the yoke which Europe has placed upon them, and that they may hereby prove to the world that the Orient is capable of measuring swords with the Occident on any field of battle."

Japan had risen to a first-class power. Japan remains a first class power, and her voice is heard, and heard with respect, in the councils of the Nations. Still the Japanese object lesson had not gone far enough with the dominant groups of man kind. They were wont still to assume a patronizing air with other darker races, including black folk. They assumed the power to direct their destiny.

They laid down rules and regulations for their conduct. They fixed bounds beyond which they must not go. In some cases matters had reached an acute stage when the present war broke out. It ought to alter many a wrong point of view.

in an age of steel, machinery and mechanical appliances, man has not reached the stage, nor does it appear he ever will, when he can wholly dispense with man-power.

And, so, when it comes to the pinch, civilization, either in war or peace, is bound to press into service the dark races of mankind. As I am writing, black folk in different theatres of the war are shedding their blood in saving civilization from the deadliest blow that could be struck at it by a power which had held itself out as the most civilized of all. As I write, the burden of civilization is upon the shoulders of millions of black folk, who, throughout the world, by muscle and brain, are contributing labour of a most useful kind.

But, in the face of all this, the dominant groups are still inclined to entertain disparaging sentiments towards the black man. There are degrees of this sentiment. It ranges from positive violence, espionage, exploitation, to a nauseous patronage blighting in its influence. It is not confined to any particular class of the groups in question. In one form or other it is exhibited by the most vulgar as well as by the most cultured and enlightened.

To sum up, it suggests that the black man was expressly created by God for the purposes and the benefit of the white, and that that being his destiny, the latter is entitled to lay down the doctrine of his evolution, which must be strictly observed. That is an idea to be combatted and combatted wherever found. General Smuts of the South African Dominion has recently made two remarkable speeches in London, one at the House of Lords' dinner in his honor, the other at the Savoy Hotel Dinner.

General Smuts is a distinguished man, and he comes from a distinguished community. He belongs to that Great Boer people, who at one time, held sway in South Africa, and who then regarded the black man and his labour as a peculiar heritage from the Lord. General Smuts is proud of his people, and that is an element of greatness in him. He was a gallant and chivalrous foe, now he is a great Empire builder. Yet General Smuts cannot wholly get himself out of the South African atmosphere where our race is concerned.

In the two speeches to which I have referred he said many a wise word. He revealed a foresight and a grasp of essential problems not at all common among the most advanced of Imperial Statesmen. But it is to be hoped that he has not said the last word upon the relations of white and black in the new civilization. What he did say upon that matter requires to be scrutinized. It even challenges a protest. It would be a pity not to combat his conclusions, since they accord neither with facts nor with universal experience.

It seems that the good General anticipates Armageddon after the present one. Else his reference to all these enormous developments that formidable black army led by Euro-

pean Commanders is without point. From what source is this threatened danger anticipated? Against whom is it supposed it will be directed? It has been assumed that the powers will not rest until German militarism has been broken, so broken that it will never again dare to menace the peace of the world.

It is further considered that the Allies themselves will not revert to such a state of barbarism as to warrant a second Armageddon. From what source then, it may be asked, is this danger anticipated? If it is from the blacks, then it reveals a suggestion that there will be causes after the present war which may goad the blacks of Central Africa to antagonism. That naturally invites an examination into some of the likely causes of a possible conflict.

2.

Now, throughout this war, black folk have shown such loyalty to those sentiments which make for the highest civilization that it is fair to them to suppose that, given fair treatment they will continue to yield the same loyalty. They were given to understand by their leaders from the platform and in the press at the outbreak of the war that this was a war of ideals. We were all fighting, they were told on many an occasion, that the weak might have a chance of living without being harrassed by the strong.

The formula was that henceforth might should not usurp the place of right; that all might have equal opportunity to develop according to their capacity and genius; that justice and a fair deal might be open to all, regardless of race, condition, or climate. That was the ideal that was inscribed in the banner of freedom. It waved in the four corners of the earth, and, wherever black men congregated and looked upon that inscription, they took courage and resolved to die in a good cause. Can it be seriously said that there is ground to think that the black man will suddenly turn back from this ideal and be a menace to civilization? No, except he is goaded to it by the very ones who set up the ideal. Every sensible responsible person feels that the better course is to cement the feeling of confidence that the pursuit of a common ideal has inspired by the circumstances of the war.

Hence the importance of scrutinizing some of the causes which may impair such confidence. To begin with, General Smuts starts with the old world idea of the black man being like a child and almost animal like in the simplicity of his nature. Lest I may wrong him, I will use his own words. He says:

"If you ask my opinion what is wrong with Europe, I would say that it seems to me that the moral basis in Europe has become undermined. All this enormous superstructure of civilization and commerce and trade, all these enormous developments that have been built on that basis, have

become too much for it. The Christian, and made of Belgium territorial moral code has proved too weak a shambles, and mankind has a basis, and so you see the building characterized that act unsparingly, sagging and all this ruin with which Belgium herself had once before Europe is now involved. If this appeared with respect to the Congo, and plies to the European peoples, still it is believed she has repented in sack more does it apply to the natives in cloth and ashes. Why, the great South Africa, people who have the American Democracy itself is trying simplest minds possible, people who as hard as it can to refrain from do not understand ideals and who are wronging its colored folk; but, up to almost animal-like in the simplicity, the present, she hasn't gone very far. of their nature—people, in fact, who Yes, the Christian ethical code is all appreciate only the most primitive right. But, when it comes to its human feelings. If we want to make practical application, we are not a success in South Africa we know aware of a single European State we shall have to proceed on the basis that can safely bid the others remove of the bedrock of the Christian moral the beam from their eyes.

Of course, it is all very finely putrison's great retort with respect to but it is easy to draw the necessary the American suggestion for England implication. Now, when any one goes to set her Irish House in order may proaches another in a spirit of pabe quoted. Says he: tronage and assumes gratuitously "What would Americans do if we that the latter is of a different type intervened in one of their dilemmas in the domain of development, the say, if our ex-Ministers, doctors and he is a kind of link between animapreachers were to summon them with and superman, as the last in a passionate appeal to raise up their a link between angels and men, h12,000,000 of colored citizens to is sure to come a cropper and canequal human dignity, to wipe out the not avoid making mistakes. For heational stigma on the commonwealth adopts a frame of mind, which will that every man or woman born with ever prevent him from estimating a dark skin is born into the shame facts at their true value. of exclusion and the life of a pariah

General Smuts belongs to one of these?" The second panacea of General is a Cambridge man. He must, itSmuts is that there should be separate representative assemblies for across South Africans, who had taken white and black in South Africa. high honors in the University, as the Says he: writer did in his undergraduate days: "We have found that the ideals, in the same University. Does the which apply to our white civilization gallant General include these men in largely do not apply to the natives, the "people who do not understand and that to give a political existence ideals and who are almost animal on any equal basis to white and black like in the simplicity of their nature?" If not, why not? It may be The practice is being built up in said that these were exceptional men South Africa of creating parallel institutions and of making the natives and so is General Smuts himself an exceptional man. run on different but parallel lines to the white. It may be that on these lines we may be able to solve a problem which might otherwise prove to be entirely insoluble."

As a rule, exceptional men are rare in any group of men, and the group may usually be gauged by the opportunity it has had. Can any one who has studied the achievements of the race scientifically and historically say like Sir Harry Johnston conscientiously say that given opportunity, the black man has not proved himself apt in any field of human endeavor? Study the works of the great Anthropologist, and you will come to no other conclusion than that the black man is bound to play a prominent part in the new civilization as he had done in the past.

That being so, repressive measures and an attempt to confine him, as a race, in an air-tight compartment is sure to end disastrously. It is true, General Smuts says that the relations of white and black should be strictly based upon the Christian ethical code. That is a bare commonplace. No one will tell you that any nation in modern history has intentionally ignored the Christian moral code in its relations with weaker peoples. The good intention is always there. But how to suit action to intention creates the difficulty. To take typical cases, Germany, according to herself a highly advanced Christian nation, went under in the hour of temp

on examination. Now, the African everywhere has awakened to race consciousness, and desires the recognition of his claim to opportunity without patronage. He claims the ordinary right of every man to live freely and to command the gates of opportunity, according to his capacity without intolerance and without discrimination. Now, American conditions are more nearly akin to South African conditions than any other. In both sub-continent climatic conditions at low of white and black living together. The whites cannot do without the labor of the blacks. They may live as neighbors and benefit by one another's legitimate efforts, as white workmen live with white employers. The black may develop his powers and rise to any degree of greatness and usefulness as in a free Democracy. But, in practice and sometimes by positive legislation, he is made to feel that there are certain limits beyond which his race must not trespass; and repressive measures and even mob violence may be, and are often resorted to, to keep him under. In a word, he is a pariah race, and, such he will remain unless he makes it clear that he is capable of surmounting that condition.

In West Africa the conditions are somewhat different. Though the West African has not direct effective voice in legislation, the machinery, such as it is, often enables him to record a veto which is respected. Although here and there he is made to feel the weight and burden of patronage, yet here, theoretically, all men are equal before the Law.

Though there is segregation, yet it is practiced in the name of Science, and not ostensibly by reason of prejudice. All this is to the good. Yet there is no knowing whether West African conditions may not approximate South African and American conditions, if it were found possible to colonize these parts as freely and as fully as in South Africa. Hence it becomes the imperative duty of the African everywhere to join forces to influence public sentiment in all the great Democracies of the world in favor of the recognition of the rights of the African to the ordinary rights of a man.

Both in South Africa and in America the ordinary rights of the most backward white man are superior to that of the most advanced black man. Where the vulgarest white man may live freely, the most refined black man is shut out by an arbitrary door. We want the conditions in the two sub-continent to approximate those in West Africa and the West Indies, where a black man has a fair chance of rising according to his capacity. As for black men forcing themselves into white social circles, few black men of self-respect venture where they are not wanted, and the two races may be trusted to adjust their relations. Suppose, tomorrow, there were a law passed that no black man should cross the door of a white

shop, or a white residence, as buyer, domestic servant, clerk, or in any other capacity, sensible people would say it was a foolish law, and, what is more, they would evade it and set it at naught.

What is it, then, but stupid prejudice, which seeks to seal the races in separate air tight compartments in other respects? If we trust to the judgment of individual whites and blacks in the former conditions why, indeed, may they not be trusted in other conditions?

Repressive measures, lynching, Jim crow cars, segregation and bad treatment generally are today primary causes of mass emigration of Africans from the Southern to the Northern States in America. They are leaving in their thousands and nothing can stop them, for the circumstances are not of their creation, but they are a leverage in the hands of Providence toward racial uplift.

It has been suggested that in South Africa too, the African might trek North to a freer atmosphere, away from the greed and the selfishness of the white. He may or may not, do it. He may elect to work out his salvation in the land of his birth, no matter what the views of eminent Colonials may be as to his destiny. Today the people of West Africa extend to their brethren of the two sub-continent a hand across the Atlantic. It is the right hand of fellowship. They bring them a call to sustained endeavor. For there can be discerned already on the horizon the little cloud of hope which must presently suffuse the whole landscape of Ethiopian aspirations. These aspirations are worthy. They are manly. They invite mankind to acknowledge in the Ethiopian a man capable of holding his own with the gates of opportunity thrown open to him.

West Africa calls upon the sons of Ethiopia the wide world over to see in the American exodus the Hand of God, even as in days gone by He led the Hebrews out of Egypt. He is leading them by a way which they knew not to a liberty which they scarcely expected. And there will be universal sanction, because He will strike the consciences of men as they have never before been smitten, until they yield to the dictates of that true democracy wherein all men stand free and equal before God.

"BLACK DEVILS" STRIKE FEAR INTO THEIR HEARTS. With American Armies on the Marne, July 25th, 1918—The attack of a part of the 93rd Division of American Colored troops on the front running Southward of the Chateau-Thierry has been stubbornly contested by the Huns but early today the black troopers gained an advantage and in addition to inflicting heavy losses took many prisoners and guns. A regiment of these "Black Devils" as they are called by the Germans, known as the "Buffalos" alone captured 300 Germans. The Germans apparently seemed fearful of their safety when they faced these shouting Colored

boys and in many cases gave themselves up without conflict as prisoners. When informed they would be relieved by fresh troopers after holding their line for nearly 36 hours of continuous fighting they reported that they needed no relief but began pressing "Heinie" back farther.

On the Northwest bank of the Marne where three regiments of Colored soldiers had been holding an important sector for some time these troops made an advance attack to the town of Jaulgonne driving and capturing the Huns in their dugouts as they pushed forward in their mad rush to put the Stars and the Stripes flying over this town.

Colored Ran Germans Out of Their Trenches and Captured Towns.

Paris, July 24th.—News has arrived here that North of the Ardre, American Colored troops along with British and Italian troops were thrown into the fray. The attack of the Italians was feebly developed and rapidly crushed. But the black troops pushed forward with the British and French in support. Between the forests of Fere and Riz, the Colored troops are fighting their way forward. Just before the capture of Armentieres, our boys ran thousands of Huns from their trenches and a fierce hand to hand struggle followed with the bayonet and rifle butt. The boys had planned a raid on the Germans which was carried out with success all along the line. Hundreds of German dead were on the field behind their five mile advance on the town of Oulchy-le-Chateau and Bercy. When they reached Brecy one of their bands struck up a lively American tune which was received with shouting and cheers by these battle scarred heroes.

U. S. A. COL. REGIMENT.

IN THE THICK OF THE BIG OFFENSIVE IN FRANCE JULY 20TH. (News from Overseas.)

In the Champagne district in our own sector in France the positions that were held by the French troops for the past two weeks had the assistance of one American division and a regiment of U. S. Colored troops.

In that memorable 22-mile advance on the German front, officially reported July 20, this regiment of Colored soldiers figured in opposing the enemy. The American divisions which are on the front of the large offensive are the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 26th, and 28th divisions. The Colored regiment belongs to the 93d Division. The other division now in line is the 42d. In the immediate path of the German attack and our counter offensive are the seven divisions indicated. These divisions are not operating as a corps, but are used wherever it is necessary for us to use them.

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Race Problem—1918

Africa

The Richmond Planet
May 11, 1918.

THE CAMEROONS CAMPAIGN—II.

Special to Richmond Planet.

LONDON, April 17, 1918.—Simultaneously with the advance of a Nigerian force against Mora two other columns crossed the border into German territory with the object of clearing the enemy from that portion of the German Cameroons which lies between Lake Chad to the north, and the Nachtigal Rapids of the Sangha River to the south.

The more northerly of the two, starting from Yola, an important town on the River Benue, seized the frontier post of Tepe, and then advanced forty miles on Garua, a large town one hundred and twenty miles S. S. W. of Mora, which it reached on the 30th of August and captured one of the forts.

At dawn the next morning the enemy counter-attacked heavily, and the whole force was compelled to fall back to Yola with the loss of its commander, Lieutenant-Colonel P. Maclear, and three officers, and heavy losses of the rank and file.

A SURPRISE ATTACK.

The third column, starting from Ikom on the Cross River, seized Nsanakang, just within the frontier. On the 6th of September a German column which had advanced from Duala made a surprise attack on the post and practically annihilated the garrison, only two officers and ninety men succeeding in forcing a way through with the bayonet.

The casualties on the British side numbered 168, of whom 2 officers, 1 non-commissioned officer and 9 men were killed; 1 officer, 16 men were wounded, and 3 officers, 1 non-commissioned officer, and 49 men were taken prisoners. Those who escaped straggled back into Ikom, after days of wandering and starvation in the forest. One section had been a week practically without food.

So far, then, the operations against the Germans had not led to any decisive result. At the end of September the French forces in the south were slowly advancing northward up the two protruding tongues of German territory, while in the north the three British columns had been checked or had suffered severe reverses. But another line of attack had been adopted by the British against the apex of the great triangle formed by the theatre of operations.

GEN. DOBELL APPOINTED.

Immediately on the declaration of war, General Dobell, then Inspector-General of the West African Frontier Force, who happened to be in England on leave, was appointed to

command an allied Expeditionary Force for the capture of the Cameroons. The number of troops, of both nations, placed at his disposal at the beginning of the campaign, amounted to 4,300 West African native soldiers. The British and French contingents were almost equal in numbers, the British being made up of three battalions of four companies each of Infantry, and two batteries each of four 2.95 guns supplied by the various regiments of the West African Frontier Force.

The French contingent was composed of the famous Senegalese Tirailleurs. As this force was found to be too weak it was increased from time to time and on the 21st, November, 1915, General Dobell's command numbered 9,700, in which were included the Fifth Light Infantry Regiment of the Indian Army.

ATTEMPTED TO SAVE COLONIES.

Before the Expeditionary Force arrived at Duala a diplomatic attempt to save its Central African colonies was made by the German Government. On the 23rd of August, the day after the battle of the Chra in Togo-land, when it had become evident that the German Navy could not protect the colonies, and that there was imminent danger of communication with them being cut off by the destruction of the great wireless stations on the West Coast of Africa, the German Government appealed to the declaration of the neutrality of the Congo Basin by the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, which had been extended by the Berlin Act to include about half of French Equatorial Africa, a portion of the Cameroons, all German East Africa, British East Africa and Uganda.

The United States Government was asked to procure the neutrality of all this region "to prevent an aggravation of the state of war which could serve no purpose, while prejudicial to the community of culture of the white race."

A DEFENSIVE ATTITUDE.

At the beginning of the war an enquiry by the Belgian Government, which had instructed their officials in the Congo to adopt a strictly defensive attitude, had elicited that the French Government was "very disposed" to proclaim the neutrality of its territories in the conventional Basin of the Congo.

By the time Germany made her proposal evidence had been obtained of German preparations to attack French territory, which had been balked when Great Britain's entry into the war placed the German colonies between two fires. The American government limited itself to forwarding the proposals without comment, and the British and French Governments refused to entertain them.

Immediately after Britain's declaration

of war on the 4th of August a second." The cruiser Challenger, a flotilla of armed vessels made demonstration against various points on the Cameroons coast, especially at Victoria, a town at the foot of the Cameroons Mountain, originally a Baptist Mission Station. At the same time two German armed boats, the "Rohlf" and the "Itolo," threatened the Gaboon coast.

The French retaliated by sending a force of 600 Senegalese to Cocco Beach (which the Germans had renamed Ukoko) at the mouth of the Rio Muni. After a stiff fight, during which the two boats were sunk, Cocco Beach was captured on the 21st of September, and the French forces proceeded to clear the enemy from the German portion of Muni.

TO MINE THE CHANNEL.

In the meantime, Herr Ebermaier, the German Governor was preparing to defend his colony. Colonel Zimmermann was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the German forces, and at once began to organize the defense. On the 4th of August he arrived at Duala, followed the next day by the Governor and his staff. On August 8th, news was received by 'wireless' boats engaged in the West African service, with a total tonnage of 30,915 tons. These were later made to mine the channel up to the town.

It was not till the 30th that the British flotilla arrived. It consisted of the 9,800 ton cruiser, Cumberland, Captain Cyril Fuller, R. N., carrying 14.6 inch guns, the gunboat Dwarf, of 701 tons, armed with 2.4-inch and 4.3 guns (12 pounders), the steamboats Walrus and Vampire, the Nigerian Government's armed yacht Ivy and a number of small craft, suitable for work in the creeks, belonging to the Nigeria Marine Service. A detachment was landed at Victoria without opposition, but disembarked on being threatened by the German Commander, when the town was bombarded and all stores were destroyed by gunfire.

GERMAN SHIPS SOUGHT REFUGE

On the 9th of September the little fleet reached the Duala estuary and anchored off its mouth. All German shipping at the outbreak of the war had sought refuge in the estuary which had been mined for about 12 miles below Duala. Several small steamers had also been sunk in the fairway and a barrier drawn across the channel. The Dwarf once set to work to remove this barrier, and on the 11th, came under fire from the shore batteries, but succeeded in destroying over 30 mines in spite of numerous attempts to sink her by means of homemade "torpedoes"—infernal machines—carried by petrol driven launches.

The most nearly successful attempt was made by a man in a rowing boat who was afterwards captured and proved to be a member of the German Mission. He stated that his boat was "a soldier first and a missionary

second." The cruiser Challenger forced a passage through the obstructions and on the 25th of September reached a position 7,000 yards from Duala.

REFUSED TO SURRENDER.

A summons to surrender the Colony having been refused by the Commandant, the town was bombarded on the 28th, while a demonstration was made by a force by way of one of the neighboring creeks behind Duala. The Governor had already retired up the railway and Colonel Zimmermann followed him as soon as the bombardment began. The next morning Lieutenant Notnagel, the commandant, surrendered in accordance with his instructions.

The surrender included the town of Bonaberi on the opposite side of the estuary, all the supplies and field guns in store, and 400 Europeans, making an important diminution of the enemy forces. The most valuable prize was the shipping which included nine liners, eight of them belonging to the Woermann line, among them being some of the finest boats engaged in the West African service, with a total tonnage of 30,915 tons. These were later sold as prizes. Many smaller boats were captured, including the Governor's yacht.

A safe and convenient base of operations having been thus secured, General Dobell proceeded to clear the vicinity of the enemy by advancing along the two lines of railway, one running eastward from Duala and the other northward from Bonaberi. An allied force was sent along the eastern line and advanced to Japoma on the Dibamba creek, a distance of about 10 miles, by the first week in October. The bridge at Japoma, 900 yards in length, had been broken in two places, but the Senegalese Tirailleurs forced the passage by a fine charge under galling rifle and machine gun fire.

AN UNSUCCESSFUL ATTACK.

The General now considered it advisable to clear the country to the northeast of Duala. A mixed naval and military force, supported by armed craft was sent against Jabassi which was unsuccessfully attacked on the 8th of October. The force was reorganized and the attack was repeated on the 14th with complete success. A force was pushed out to Njamtan and the country round Jabassi completely cleared of the enemy. Having thus cleared his left flank General Dobell decided to continue his advance along the eastern line of railway to Edea, 30 miles from Japoma. This movement was carried out by three columns, one moving along the line, a second starting from Dehane on the Nyong River, by an outpost at Bare, about 10 miles further north. These operations enabled the Cross

sharp fighting, especially along the railway, and the difficulties of navigating the Sanaga River, which is obstructed by many sandbanks, the combined movement was completely successful. The three columns converged on Edea which was occupied on the 26th of October.

CLEARED THE COUNTRY.

General Dobell now turned his attention to clearing the enemy out of the country between Duala and the Nigerian frontier. A force was despatched under Lieutenant Colonel Haywood, R. A., the only Englishman who had crossed the desert of Sahara in recent years, at the beginning of October to clear the northern line of railway, on which the enemy had an armored train.

By the 15th this force had made such progress, in spite of stiff opposition, that another force was sent to clear the country along the coast. This force consisted of two columns, one under Colonel E. H. Gorges, D. S. O., who had done considerable fighting in East Africa, and the other under Lieutenant Colonel Rose of the Gold Coast Regiment, supported by a naval force and a detachment of Royal Marine Light Infantry which threatened Victoria.

One column advanced from Tiko at the mouth of the Mungo River and the other from Susa on the Mpundu. The country was mountainous and difficult for military operations but Buea, Soppo and Victoria were occupied and the surrounding country cleared of the enemy by the 15th of November. At Buea sixty white men and twenty white women and children were captured.

MET STRONG OPPOSITION.

In order to drive the enemy from the northern line of railway and to relieve the pressure on the Nigerian posts on the Cross River, a force was concentrated at Mujuka, on the railway line 25 miles north of Bonaberi, on the 30th of November, and placed under the command of Colonel Gorges. This force encountered strong opposition but fought its way along the 40 miles of railway to railhead at Nkongsamba which surrendered on the 10th of December.

At this place two aeroplanes, the first to be seen in West Africa, were captured, but as there were no trained flying officers with the forces they were packed up and sent to Europe.

Dchang, 35 miles north of railhead was occupied on the 3rd of January, 1915 and the fort destroyed. As the General did not feel himself strong enough to maintain a post so far from railhead, and in a difficult and mountainous country, he reluctantly decided to withdraw his troops to Nkongsamba, satisfying himself with maintaining his hold on the district by an outpost at Bare, about 10 miles further north.

These operations enabled the Cross River column under Lieutenant Col-

Colonel Mayer, which had been reinforced after the loss of Nsanakang, to again advance into the Cameroons for some distance but it retired to Ossiding, which was occupied on the 8th of January.

By this time the presence of the French and Belgian forces in the south and south-east began to be felt by the enemy, but those forces were still 400 miles from the scene of General Dobell's operations, which had resulted in the clearing of the whole of the Northern railway and the country between it and the Nigerian border, the capture of Duala, Victoria, Buea and all the German posts along the coast and of approximately 1,000 mal Europeans, one third of the German in the Colony at the outbreak of the war. The necessity of maintaining comparatively strong garrisons in the captured positions, and of providing posts along the lines of communication had so depleted his forces that General Dobell was unable to pursue a very active policy until reinforced. Co-ordinated movements of the scattered forces were almost impossible owing to the inability to establish any reliable means of communication over so vast an area.

GERMANS MAKE TWO ATTACKS

On the 5th of January the German commander delivered two simultaneous attacks on the eastern railway. The first was directed against Kopya, about 10 miles from Edea, and was easily repelled. General Dobell, having received warning of the impending attack in time to strengthen the post. The enemy, however, succeeded in cutting the railway and telegraph lines and stopping communication with Edea. A more serious attack was made on Edea, which was held by French troops.

The position was not very favourable to the defense the buildings being much scattered and the forest coming close to the post, but French engineers had prepared the ground so skillfully and the marksmanship of the Senegalese Tirailleurs was so good that the attack was repelled with the loss to the attackers of 23 Europeans and 190 Native soldiers. The French lost 1 sergeant and 2 Tirailleurs killed and 11 Tirailleurs wounded. A machine gun, a number of rifles and a large quantity of ammunition and equipment were captured. The lesson was so severe that the Germans never again attempted the attack of a fortified position on a similar scale.

ACTIVE MEASURES TAKEN

After a consultation with Brigadier General Canliffe, who had been sent down by the Governor General of Nigeria, it was decided to take more active measures in the north of the Cameroons. Major W. D. Wright, V. C. was detached from General Dobell's staff for service with the Nigerian forces in the north and Captain Fuller of the cruiser "Cumberland" lent one

of his ships guns, which was sent up to Yola via the Niger and Benue rivers for use against the forts at Garua.

At the beginning of February activity was resumed on the northern line of railway. Lt. Colonel Cockburn with a battalion of Nigerian Regiment attacked and captured a post at Mbureku on the 3rd but was obliged to advance to the position of Harman's farm before he could follow up his success. Here the Sierra Leone Regiment was heavily engaged by the enemy who retired on finding that the position at Bare had been strengthened. During the remainder of the month there was a series of small encounters which culminated in a second attack on Soebel's and Harman's Farms on the 4th of March. Although the attack was not successful the enemy must have been severely mauled as he evacuated his positions and retired towards the north.

REINFORCEMENTS SENT.

During the month reinforcements reached General Dobell from the British and French Colonies. On the 12th of March, M. Fourneau, Lieutenant Gouverneur du Moyen-Congo arrived at Duala to invite the British general's co-operation in a movement in combination with the French forces under General Aymerich in the south and south-east of the Cameroons against Yaunde which had become the seat of the German local administration. While fully realizing the political and strategical importance of a successful attack on Yaunde, General Dobell was disinclined to embark on such extensive operations so late in the season. The rains were already beginning and the General did not consider that the forces at his disposal were sufficient to ensure success unless he could rely on effective support from General Aymerich on approaching Yaunde, which it was unsafe to count upon in the absence of means of communication. After some hesitation the General consented to co-operate. On the 7th of April a force commanded by Lieut-Colonel Haywood was sent up the railway to act with the French troops at Edea under Colonel Mayer. While another force was posted at Sakbajeme to prevent the enemy crossing the Sanaga river and taking the advancing columns in the rear. The passage of the Kele River and the position at Ngwe were obstinately disputed by the enemy, who was evidently withdrawing troops from other parts of the Colony to defend his temporary capital. The passage was forced after considerable losses and the further advance was postponed till the 1st of May.

BLOCKADE DECLARED.

In order to make the enemy believe that fresh forces were about to be launched against him from the south-west, a blockade of the coast was declared at midnight of the 23rd-24th April, and constant activity was

maintained by the Navy. Campo was occupied by a naval detachment and a boat patrol was maintained on the Campo River.

On the 1st of May the French and British columns on the western railway resumed their advance eastwards. Colonel Haywood's force driving in the hostile outposts at Ndupe and capturing a formidable position at Wum Biagas on the 4th of May. The struggle was a severe one, and called from the General a warm tribute to the bravery and steadiness displayed by the Native troops.

The British column was now joined by the French column, under Col. Mayer, which had been stationed at Edea and was strengthened by a naval 12 pounder gun.

RAINS AND SICKNESS.

On the 11th of May General Dobell received information that no definite date could be given when he might expect the effective cooperation of General Aymerich. As it was evident that the rains and the consequent sickness among the officers must seriously interfere with the advance on Yaunde if it were further delayed instructions were sent to Colonel Mayer to push on vigorously from Wum Biagas which he left on the 25th of May.

The troops were now operating in the forest country where it was necessary to cut roads through the dense undergrowth and the men were strung out in single file along the narrow paths surrounded by jungle which afforded hiding places from which the enemy who was completely invisible, could deliver sudden and unexpected attacks. Only three motor vehicles being available, supplies were dependent on human carriage and the carriers being unarmed and hampered with their loads were extremely liable to panic when suddenly attacked. After every turn of the winding paths machine gun fire was poured into the advancing men and it was only through the admirable steadiness and indomitable courage of the troops that it was possible to make good an advance of 5 miles in the first two days of marching. Two more days were required to force a post at Njek, the enemy having been strongly reinforced.

MORE TROOPS SENT.

In reply to an appeal from Colonel Mayer more troops were sent to his assistance and more carriers were applied for from the West African Colonies.

It was not till the 4th of June that Colonel Mayer captured a position at Matim, and after 12 days of constant fighting the column had advanced only 12 miles. Colonel Mayer now informed the General that owing to the nature of the country and the obstinate resistance of the enemy further advance was impossible. On the 7th of June the French Governor General wired that no further news

had been received from General Aymerich. General Dobell therefore instructed Colonel Mayer to retire, which he did his rearguards being constantly attacked but never broken and inflicting severe losses on their pursuers. The last reserves at Duala were sent forward to relieve the harassed force and after marching 60 miles in two days reached Col. Mayer's column during a heavy attack on the rearguard. The enemy continued his activity till the British and French forces were once more firmly established at Ngwe and the Kele River.

During the operations the casualties amounted to 25 per cent of the force under Colonel Mayer while success was rendered hopeless by the failure of the expected co-operation by General Aymerich while the forces on the Northern Railway were not in a position to effect any diversion of the enemy forces in that direction.

LOMIE CAPTURED.

It was not till three weeks after Colonel Mayer's enforced retreat that the column under Colonel Hutin succeeded in capturing Lomie and another month elapsed before Colonel Morrison captured Dume. Both these columns had been hampered by the difficulties of an advance through swampy country covered with forest like that which had baffled Colonel Mayer. They had had many encounters with the enemy. Col. Hutin had been joined by over 300 deserters from the Native troops of the Germans, while the people of the districts to the south of Yaunde had risen in revolt. Colonel Morrison had been held up before Moopa till the 23rd of June when with the assistance of an 80 mm. mountain gun he was able to reduce it after a six hours bombardment followed by a charge with the bayonet. On the 22nd of July he re-entered Bertua and thence advanced to Dume whence the Germans retreated after setting the town on fire.

TRAINING DEPOT ESTABLISHED

During May, General Dobell in order to make good the casualties in the two battalions of the Nigerian Regiment established a training depot at Duala. Recruits were enlisted in Nigeria and before the end of the campaign 536 soldiers were trained and passed into the ranks. After Colonel Mayer had reestablished himself a lull in the operations was enforced by the rains which was turned to advantage to send as many European officers and non-commissioned officers as possible to the United Kingdom for recuperation and most of the Native troops from Nigeria and the Gold Coast were granted a few weeks' furlough to visit their native countries.

BOERS WANT
The Amsterdam News
EAST AFRICA
Jan. 30, 1911.

Gen. Smuts Trying to Influence Willing British to Grab East Africa

London, Jan. 29.—Lieutenant General J. C. Smuts, lecturing before the Royal Geographical Society on East Africa last night considered the British and German colonial viewpoints. According to his interpretation Germany was not looking for homes for settlers, he said, and had no population, particularly farmers, for emigration.

Germany's colonial aims, the general said, were dominated by a far-reaching conception of world politics. Her real aims military and in getting strategic positions for exercising world power. Germany's ambition, he added, was for a great East and Central Africa empire, embracing the colonies now owned by the British, Belgian, French and Portuguese, lying south of Lake Chad and north of the Zambezi River.

This territory, General Smuts declared, was, first, to supply raw materials for the German empire, but was mainly for raising a great African army to carry out her schemes of world conquest.

"Suppose that German East Africa remains a part of the British empire after the war," said General Smuts. "Cries of 'It will and must' interrupt him, after which he continued:

"Germany's colonizing methods really mean a policy diametrically opposed to that of the British empire which has found its symbol in the union of South Africa. I do not want to speak about the disposal of German East Africa after the war, but the law of self-preservation must apply to that country, where Prussian militarism must never be allowed to take hold.

"The East African campaign may be found to be a most important factor in developing the future and permanent peace of the world."

The native armies would be useful in the next great war, to which Germany was already giving attention, declared the general, who added:

"The untrained levies of the Union of South Africa will go down before these German trained hordes of Africans, who will also be able to deal with northern Africa and Egypt without any help from white troops from Germany. They will also mean a great army planted on the flank of Asia, and whose force could be felt throughout the middle east as far as Persia, perhaps farther.

"Great Britain's object in Africa, General Smuts claimed, are inherently pacific and defensive. Looking to the future from the broadest viewpoint and looking further upon Africa as a halfway house on the road to India and Australia, the British empire asks only internal peace and the security of its external communications.

"It cannot allow a return to conditions which mean the militarization of the natives and their employment for a scheme of world power. It cannot allow naval and submarine bases to be organized on both coasts of Africa to the endangerment of the peace of the world. It must insist upon through land communication from one end of Africa to the other."

In all his speech there was not one word of justice for the native or any consideration of their wishes in the matter.

Africa

AMERICAN NEGRO SAID TO BE RUSSIAN CABINET MINISTER

The New York Age
The statement that an American Negro is a Cabinet Minister under the present Bolsheviki regime in Russia is made by a writer in the current issue of *The World's Work*.

In discussing the subject "The Bolsheviki, Who They Are and What They Believe," the writer, described in the magazine as "a New York business man," says:

"I made my way to Room 77, the Foreign Office. There was a great palaver going on. What was being said was not half so interesting as how it was being said. These officials conversed almost exclusively in English and German. They were not Russians. They were Jews. They did not talk Russian—they talked Bowery.

"While waiting my turn with the secretary, in paraded an unmistakable character—an American Negro. Abandoning all business and decorum the functionary sprang from his seat and yelled: 'Hello, Johnny, what can I do for you?'"

"The 'darky' returned the greeting and was nothing if not democratic. I ventured to hail him as a fellow New Yorker, hoping thus to expedite my business. He was delighted, and assuming command agreed to shove things through for me.

"What Ministry do you belong to," said I. He grinned. 'To all the ministries. I am a member of the Military Revolutionary Committee.'

"No wonder the secretary hopped about. This committee was the executive and autocratic head of Smolny Government and was superior to all ministers and all cabinets. It was the inviolate and ultimate authority.

"Johnny' was glad to tell me about his rise in the world. In New York he had joined the I. W. W. and had been one of their end men and agitators. He was an associate of Max Eastman. 'Johnny' would have made an excellent South Carolina senator under the carpet-bagger regime. He confided to me that he was for anarchy without any frills.

Are Negroes people? Are Chinamen people? One would not think so to judge by the German way of discussing the future disposition of the German colonies. Germany pretends to accept President Wilson's series of points, one of which was that the interests of the people should be consulted in the disposition made of the lands wherein they live; but it never enters their heads that the interests of the people of Kiao-Chau or of Southwest Africa could be consulted. In-

deed, so far as Southwest Africa is concerned, there are not so many people left to consult; Germany has killed more than half of them. It is doubtless true that the natives of Africa cannot be left to govern themselves when they have pushing white neighbors all around them. Our own Indians are proof enough of that. Nevertheless, their interests are going to be consulted; there must be no more of that ruthless enslaving of native populations, their robbery by swindling treaties and their murder by wholesale. These things disgrace the records of all colonizing nations in a rougher, more brutal age; but mankind has advanced, and colonization for the benefit of the native as well as of the colonist is the rule now.

It is not, however, the rule for Germany, which enslaves, tortures, and murders in the true spirit of the conquerors of Peru four hundred years ago. And Germany must leave Africa, since she knows nothing to do with Africans except to enslave and kill them. There may be some who take a more utilitarian view of it, who say that these countries must be developed at whatever cost. Well, by that rough test, too, Germany fails. She cannot colonize, she does not know how. Her only idea of making a colony is to put up a replica of Germany on African soil, without the slightest regard to whether it fits that soil or not.

No colonist could do business without consulting Berlin; and since colonization, to be successful, requires initiative and does not thrive under delays, German colonization was strangled in its cradle. The Government imposed so heavy a tax on diamonds that the amount smuggled is believed to be more than the amount regularly exported. The heavy hand of the Government has made the copper mines almost unproductive. Meanwhile the colonists have been loaded down with heavy taxation. What they got to show for it was splendid public buildings, statues in the best style of German art, immense schools with few pupils in them, and so on.

The natives were treated as the Conquistadors treated the ancient Peruvians, except that the Conquistadors did seem to know how to make their slaves work. Germany's African history has been a long procession of "wars"; that is, massacres, tortur-

years. They drove women and children into the desert to die of thirst, and this is not as the ordinary brutality of ignorant settlers, but as a military operation. Gen. von Trotha's proclamation to the Herrero nation, dated Oct. 2, 1904, contains this:

"The Herrero nation must now leave the country. If the people do it not, I will compel them with the big gun. Without the German frontier, every Herrero with or without a rifle, with or without cattle, will be shot. I will not take over any more women and children, but I will either drive them back to their people or have them fired on. These are my words to the nation of the Herreros."

Thus—leaving aside all questions of humanity—thus did the good German sword drive out all the prospective laborers in the country and leave the overtaxed, harassed white colonists surrounded by statues and public buildings. It is full time that Germany, which does not know how to colonize, should retire from Africa in favor of somebody who understands the business.

—New York Times.

URGES FOUNDING OF NEGRO TERRITORIES

The Spartanburg Herald
In Open Letter to President, Asa Thompson, Well Known Colored Spartan, Pleads For Conversion of German Land Holdings.

An open letter addressed to His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, from Asa Thompson, a well known colored citizen of this county, calling on the president to use his good influences at the peace council for the establishment of native commonwealths in the conquered German colonies of Africa, has just been made public. The letter urges that Mr. Wilson give this his attention, sets forth the great advantages to be derived from such native commonwealths, and declares that the president could render a service incommensurable to the colored race and the world by establishing the commonwealths.

The letter closes by declaring that "your name, linked in memory with this great deed, would be enshrined in the hearts of a grateful people." The letter is as follows:

Letter to Mr. Wilson.

His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States.

"Honorable Sir: Speaking as I confidently believe, the mind of twelve millions of colored American citizens, voicing their hope and high aspiration, I most earnestly appeal to your excellency to use your good offices as president of the United States and adviser and counselor of the allied peace council, to have established in the German colonies of Africa free and independent governments and commonwealths for the native people under the protection of the United

States. Let these governments in Africa be established upon the broad principles of humanity set forth in your peace terms to the German nation. The doctrine that the native people of Africa are not ready for self-government is a fallacious and time-worn theory used as an excuse for holding in suppression their high aspiration for growth and development. No race or people is ever ready for self-government until that people has had the opportunity to try the experiment of self-government for itself.

"No greater calamity could befall these people should the allied nations turn them over to some European power or place them under the domination of the South African Union. The fixed and unalterable purpose of the South African Union is to make South Africa a white man's country. Scant consideration is given to the native people. They are dispossessed of their land and made aliens and strangers upon their own health and heritage. The wrongs that they have suffered at the hands of the ruling class cry to heaven for adjustment.

"Native commonwealths in Africa under the protection of the United States would mark an epoch in the history of the black races of the world. It would mark the beginning of an era in which the black race would be incorporated in the great brotherhood of man. The term 'democracy' would receive its truest and highest meaning. No higher act of disinterested and unselfish statesmanship could be accomplished by the members of the peace council. The good that would accrue to the native people of Africa and to humanity at large would be beyond the comprehension of man. Such an act would be as a man reaching up to the skies and taking down the blessings of heaven and bestowing them upon his fellowman. No longer would the white man of this country have need to vex and perplex his mind over the race problem. The problem of race adjustment would be settled forever in peace, justice and righteousness.

"The negro coming from all parts of the world, schooled in high arts of white man's civilization, would transplant this civilization in the heart of Africa. And here, untrammelled by custom or prejudice, he would find the freest and fullest outlet for the genius of his soul. And the white man who would elect to live in that country would find a friend and protector in the enlightened native and in the American negro who would cast his lot with the people of that land. The money invested by the United States and other nations in that country under the new order of government would double, treble and quadruple in value.

"In justice, not as an act of charity, does the negro ask for this opportunity for self-government in Africa. By his loyalty and unyielding fidelity he has established his claim upon the land of his forefathers.

"Mr. President, speaking as though the twelve millions of my people in the United States had but one heart, one mind, one soul and out of the depths of that soul came a pleading voice, I appeal to your excellency to use your great power and influence to bring about the establishment of native commonwealths in the German colonies of Africa, governments that will be under the benign influence and control of the United States. Should you find your aid to this cause, and establishment of these governments

become accomplished, then no greater honor than yours should any man desire. Your name, linked in memory with this great deed, would be enshrined in the hearts of a grateful people.

ASA THOMPSON.

"Spartanburg, S. C., Nov. 30, 1918."

Are Negroes people? Are Chinamen people? One would not think so to judge by the German way of discussing the future disposition of the German colonies. Germany pretends to accept President Wilson's series of points, one of which was that the interests of the people should be consulted in the disposition made of the lands wherein they live; but it never enters their heads that the interests of the people of Kiao-Chau or of Southwest Africa could be consulted. In-

deed, so far as Southwest Africa is concerned, there are not so many people left to consult; Germany has killed more than half of them. It is doubtless true that the natives of Africa cannot be left to govern themselves when they have pushing white neighbors all around them. Our own Indians are proof enough of that. Nevertheless, their interests are going to be consulted; there must be no more of that ruthless enslaving of native populations, their robbery by swindling treaties and their murder by wholesale. These things disgrace the records of all colonizing nations in a rougher, more brutal age; but mankind has advanced, and colonization for the benefit of the native as well as of the colonist is the rule now.

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The natives were treated as the Conquistadors treated the ancient Peruvians, except that the Conquistadors did seem to know how to make their slaves work. Germany's African history has been a long procession of "wars"; that is, massacres, tortur-

ings, and depopulations. In Southwest Africa they reduced the native population from 200,000 to 82,000 in three years. They drove women and children into the desert to die of thirst, and this is not as the ordinary brutality of ignorant settlers, but as a military operation. Gen. von Trotha's proclamation to the Herrero nation dated Oct. 2, 1904, contains this:

"The Herrero nation must now leave the country. If the people do it not, I will compel them with the big gun. Without the German frontier, every Herrero with or without a rifle, with or without cattle, will be shot. I will not take over any more women and children, but I will either drive them back to their people or have them fired on. These are my words to the nation of the Herreros."

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LETTER FOUR.

(By W. F. Hutchinson, by arrangement with African Times, London, England.)
(Copyright by J. E. Bruce.)

THE CAMEROONS CAMPAIGN.

Immediately to the South of the British Protectorate of Nigeria lies the great German Colony of Cameroons (Kamerun), the largest of all Germany's overseas possessions. Its area of about 300,000 square miles equals that of the German Empire and Great Britain combined. Its coast line, which runs almost due North and South, has several good harbours, the best being Duala on the Bay of Cameroons, opposite the island of Fernando Po.

In the immediate neighbourhood rises the Cameroons Mountain, 13,700 feet high, which forms a magnificent and unique landmark on the West Coast, with smoke and vapour constantly belching from its summit. The northern extremity of the Colony is a tongue of land touching the southern shore of Lake Chad, the meeting point of the territories of Britain, France and Germany. Thence the boundary runs first South and then Southwest, marching with Nigeria till it reaches the sea at the Cross River.

The Eastern boundary runs in a generally Southern direction with French Equatorial Africa as its Eastern neighbour. On the South it is bounded by the French Colony of Gaboon (Gabun) along an almost straight westerly line which reaches the sea a few miles North of Libreville. At the Southeastern end are two long antennae or fingers, of territory which intrude into Gaboon, the Western touching the river Congo at Bonga, and the other the river

Ubangi (an important affluent of the Congo) at Zinga.

These two strips of territory, together with an extension of the Eastern boundary of Cameroons, had been extorted from France in 1911, at the time of the political incident known as the Agidir crisis, in return for Germany's recognition of the French Protectorate in Morocco. The territory ceded was only a small portion of Germany's original demands but its cession was an humiliation to France, as well as an impediment to the development of French Congo, by cutting the communication between the different parts of French Equatorial Africa except by river.

To Germany their only value was to bring her into touch with the Congo, and to serve as a starting point for further extension of her territory across Central Africa towards German East Africa, for the formation of a great Central African Empire touching the Atlantic Ocean on the West, and the Indian Ocean on the East.

Placed thus astride Africa she would have dominated the Continent, cutting off South Africa, and threatening the rear of the French and British possessions in West and North West Africa, as well as Egypt, while from the ports on the seaboard she would have been able to cut the sea-routes between Europe and South America, the Cape and India.

On the Cameroons Mountain the Germans had established a hill station, named Buea, on a healthy site of remarkable beauty, which was the administrative capital of the Colony. From Duala a railway ran Eastward to Edea, a distance of about 100 miles, with several large bridges. From Bonaberi, on the Northern shore of Cameroons Bay, another railway ran Northward about 75 miles to Nkongsamba.

At various places in the interior, notably Yaunde about 30 miles Northeast of Edea, at Agaundere at the Northern edge of the Central Plateau; at Garua, near the Nigerian frontier, and at Mora, near Lake Chad, the Germans had made thirty strong fortified positions, well placed and garrisoned. They had also wireless stations with which they were able to maintain communication with the outer world after they had been driven from the coast.

One of the greatest obstacles the Allies had to face was the nature of the country in which they had to operate. The British commander, General Dobell, thus describes it:

"The country in the immediate vicinity of Duala is perhaps typical of the greater portion of the Cameroons in which my troops have operated, excepting beyond Northern railhead where the country becomes open and, on account of its greater altitude, healthier, but all the coast line, and for some 150 miles inland, one meets the same monotonous impenetrable African forest, fringed on the coastline, by an area of mangrove swamp of varying depth."

An officer serving with the British forces thus describes the country in

a letter:

"This everlasting forest! You go marching along in single file, never knowing when you are going to be shot at. The enemy may be only a few yards away, but you cannot see them. There is an eternal twilight in these forests, the trees meeting overhead and interlaced by creepers. It is a fine sight to see the column on the march; it covers two to three miles of road, taking nearly an hour to pass a given spot, and it is a serious matter to defend this long line. And the heat!" (Times "History of the War.")

The forest also contained denizens as formidable as the human enemies. "We were having a hot scrap with the Germans, (writes another officer) when suddenly an angry elephant appeared between us, and darted first one way and then the other. Before you could cough, both sides had done a bunk. (Times "History.") Wild bees were equally successful in scattering the combatants on more than one occasion."

According to the German official statistics the garrison consisted of about 200 Germans and 2,000 natives. But by calling up all the Germans of military age in the Colony, including the crews of all the merchantmen which sought refuge in the harbours on the declaration of war, the number of Germans under arms was increased to fully 3,000, while the native troops were increased to about 20,000 by recalling to the colours all the old soldiers who had completed their service but were still of military age.

These troops were under the command of Colonel Zimmermann, who proved himself an able and resolute soldier. The native troops were divided into two classes, the Polizei-truppen (Police Force) armed with a carbine firing a soft nosed bullet, and the Schutztruppen (Regular troops) who carried the regulation German Army Rifle with saw-backed sword bayonet. These troops were well trained, plentifully supplied with machine guns and well led.

Immediately on the declaration of war General Aymerich, the commander of the troops in French Equatorial Africa took steps to remove the obstacles to communication between that colony and Gaboon by seizing the two antennae of German territory touching the Congo and the Ubangi, described above.

A small force under Inspector Leprince ascended the Congo from Brazzaville and took Bonga by surprise on the 6th of August. The next day Zinga was captured by a company of Senegalese Tirailleurs, which descended the Ubangi from Bangui, 60 miles higher up the river, under Captain Beon. At these places documents were captured which showed that the garrisons were instructed to invade French territory.

General Aymerich despatched two columns to take the German forces in the rear. Colonel Hutin was to advance from Bonga northward up the valley of the Sanga River. The

second, under Colonel Morrison, was to move westward along the valley of the Lobage River, which joins the Ubangi River near Zinga. By October this column had advanced 200 miles and occupied Carnot, near the head of the River Sanga, and at Bania, 70 miles lower down the river, got into touch with Colonel Hutin's column.

This column, moving partly by land and partly by river, had advanced 300 miles by the 18th of October and captured the important fortified post of Nola, on the Sanga river, 30 miles below Bania. At Nola the German garrison was captured with a small cannon, four machine guns and a quantity of ammunition. Colonel Hutin now found his communication with Bonga threatened by a force which had marched eastward from Molundu and had seized N'Zimu, half way between Bonga and Nola.

General Aymerich at once hurried up with a force which included a Belgian contingent of 580 rifles, part of which was brought up the river by the armed steamer "Luxembourg." After three days obstinate fighting in which the "Luxembourg" did good service with its guns, being brought to within 150 yards of the German position, N'Zimu was recaptured on the 29th of October.

Colonel Hutin assumed command of the forces now, including the Belgians, about 2,000 strong. His first care was to clear the N'Goko valley of the enemy so as to secure his lines of communication with Bonga and Zinga. This involved much heavy fighting and it was not till the 21st of December that he was able to occupy Molundu, the German headquarters in this region.

Colonel Morrison, in the meantime, had advanced westward from Bania, the Germans retreating before him till they reached Baturi, on the road to Dume and Younde, where they were joined by the forces retiring before Colonel Hutin's column. Baturi is in the dense forest area, described by General Dobell, where the movement of troops is necessarily slower than in the comparatively open country in which the French had hitherto been operating.

Colonel Morrison reached Baturi on the 9th of December, but the Germans had evacuated it the night before and retired 33 miles further West, to Bertua. Following them up he attacked them again on the 28th, forcing them to retreat after a sharp fight, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Dume. The garrisons of the posts evacuated by the Germans as Morrison advanced now united and, assuming the offensive, not only stopped his progress but recaptured Bertua and advanced to Moopa, 25 miles South of Baturi, where they firmly established themselves.

In this way both the French columns advancing from the South found themselves hung up, and their progress impeded by the difficulties of the terrain, as much as by the

skill and determination of the enemy. It was several months before these columns were in a position to effect the operations which had in the meantime been taken in hand by the British forces advancing from the north-western seaboard.

Simultaneously with the French advance from the South, a French force under the command of General Largeau invaded the Cameroons from the North-east. General Largeau was one of the most distinguished officers of France's African army.

He was with Marchand at Fashoda, and had since seen much service in the Sudan, crowning a brilliant career by defeating the Senussi in 1913. He remained in command of the French forces in the Northern Cameroons till October, 1915, when the operations being nearly completed he was recalled to France and given command of a brigade of infantry at Verdun, where he was killed on the 26th of March, 1916.

Africa

THE COLORED PEOPLE'S PART IN WORLD WAR.

Richmond Planet - 5-25-18

Black Troops Fighting Hard on Both Sides-Africa in Contest.

English Officers Lead The Troops--The Plan of Advance---German Officers at Head of Black German Army.

CAMEROONS CAMPAIGN—III.

(By W. F. Hutchinson by arrangement with African Times.)
(Copyright by John E. Bruce.)

Contemporaneously with the operations under General Dobell just described, the Nigerian forces under General Cunliffe had been actively engaged in clearing the enemy from the vicinity of the Nigerian frontier. Immediately on his return from Duala in February the general reorganized his forces, both British and French, for the purpose of renewing the attack on Garua and preventing the German force on the Ngaundere Plateau, uniting with those further South and then of moving Southward to cooperate with the forces under Generals Dobell and Aymerich.

All the available troops on the Eastern frontier were concentrated for the movement against Garua, 3,500 yards from the German fort. The enemy took advantage of this temporary weakening of the frontier guard to make a raid into Nigeria, of which succeeded in reaching the town of Mutumbia, near Benue, destroying the residency and interrupting telegraphic communication between Yola and Lagos for a fortnight.

ALLIES INVEST GARUA.

On the 18th of April the investment of Garua was begun, on the

South and Southwest. The allied forces consisted of eleven companies of infantry, one company of mounted infantry and one squadron of cavalry, five guns (including the British naval gun) and eleven machine guns.

On the night of the 21-22 of April, Hauptmann von Crailsheim broke out of the town with a mixed force of about 250 strong and marched Southward towards Ngaundere and, after being joined by a small force of about 50 native soldiers, attacked an out-post at Gurin. The attack failed but, by avoiding all roads and making a wonderful march of 28 hours without a halt and thereby evading the troops sent against them, the party succeeded in returning to Garua.

ARTILLERY STRENGTHENED.

On the 28th of May the besiegers' artillery was strengthened by the arrival of a French 95 mm. gun and Allied force was entrenched 3,000 yards from the German fort.

The advance was steadily pushed forward by night work and by the 10th of June a line of trenches with a frontage of about 400 yards and efficient communication with the rear had been established within a thousand yards of the fort.

This work was accomplished in the face of great difficulties, all water supplies having to be carried to the trenches in pots, over a distance of two miles. On the night of the 9-10 of June two attempts made by the enemy to break out were defeated

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER.

His troops having gotten out of hand, Hauptmann von Crailsheim offered to surrender on terms, but this being refused he surrendered unconditionally at 6 P. M. The elaborate defences, which had converted the position into an entrenched camp, had occupied 2,000 laborers for five months.

A force under Lieutenant Colonel Webb Bowen was at once dispatched towards Ngaundere, 140 miles to the South to seize the Northern edge of the Ngaundere Plateau and prevent the enemy concentrating in that direction, thereby to secure a line of advance Southward to cooperate with the forces under General Dobell.

ATTACK IN MIDST OF TORNADO.

On the 28th of June, the steep paths leading up to Ngaundere Plateau were carried by a surprise attack in the midst of a terrific tornado. A counter attack during the night was driven off and the enemy retired on Tibati, 80 miles to the Southwest. On receiving information that General Dobell's operations had been temporarily suspended, General Cunliffe decided not to advance further but to limit himself to maintaining the position he had gained.

He accordingly directed the Ibi column to occupy Goshaka, 140 miles East of Ngaundere and near the Ni-

gerian frontier, and to hold the line Ngaundere Kotscha-Gashaka.

RAINS CAUSE A PAUSE.

As the rains, which had caused a pause in the advance from Duala, were not so serious an obstacle to operations in the open country near the Northern frontier, he proceeded to Mora and carried out the operations against it which I have already described. On the 25th and 26th of August a conference between Governor General Merlin and Generals Aymerich and Dobell took place at Duala and a plan of operation was agreed upon for combined movement against Yaunde. General Aymerich, whose forces were now established at Bertua and Dume, about 140 miles Northeast of Yaunde, was to advance on that place while General Dobell's forces renewed their advance from the West. Simultaneously General Cunliffe was to move down Ngaundere 280 miles on the Northeast.

REINFORCEMENTS AND SUPPLIES

By the 22nd of September General Dobell had been reinforced by the Fifth Indian Light Infantry. A large number of carriers and a number of motor cars were supplied by the colonies of Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Nigeria. The British and French contingents were formed into separate columns, the latter having its advanced base at Eseka, and the British column advancing on a parallel line.

Necessary repairs to the lines of communication having been carried out, the army advanced on Wum Biagas, which was captured on the 9th of October after a lively action in which the Nigerian Gold Coast Regiments greatly distinguished themselves.

FLANKING COLUMNS UNITE.

From Wum Biagas touch was effected by flanking columns, with the French who occupied a position half way between Edea and railhead (Eseka) on the 25th day of October. On the 30th of the month Eseka was captured, with a large quantity of rolling stock, which formed a welcome addition to the supply of engines and wagons.

By the 23rd of November the bush track from Edea to Wum Biagas had been converted into a good motor road, though railway communication had been nearly completed between Duala and Eseka and 7000 carriers were employed on such sections of the communications as were still unfit for motor or rail traffic.

THE PLAN OF ADVANCE.

It was decided that the British column should advance via Dschang Mangas, and the French via Kribi. The advance of both columns was generally conducted by a main column with two wings moving on as wide a front as possible. Every step

was heavily disputed but the troops from Northern Nigeria swept aside all resistance, and Ngung was reached on the 30th of the month.

On the 7th of December the advance on Dschang Mangas was resumed, and ten days later it was captured. In the meantime the French column had been steadily fighting its way through very difficult country, and on the 21st of December entered Mangeles, where it halted for rest and to establish a supply depot.

DISLODGING ENEMY GARRISONS.

In the northern part of the country General Cunliffe had been actively engaged in dislodging the enemy garrisons scattered along the Nigerian frontier. On the 23rd of July a company from General Cunliffe's force at Ngaundere occupied a town called Tingere. A counter attack by a stronger German force was checked and the check was turned into a rout by a native non-commissioned officer who led his section from their trenches in a bayonet charge.

Gashaka, situated in most difficult mountainous country was captured by another company after a turning movement lasting twelve hours, involving the crossing of numerous rivers. A hill, two miles East of Gashaka having been seized the garrison fled on the 13th of August, leaving everything behind.

SERGT. ROBT. NEWHOUSE SERVING IN BRITISH ARMY

Nothing in months has created so great a surprise among his many friends in Chicago as was occasioned when word was received by relatives from Sergt. Robert Newhouse, now serving in the British army "over there." The military career of Sergt. Newhouse has been spectacular. He



Sergt. Newhouse

enlisted in the U. S. army in 1912 and served until 1915, and was discharged with honors. He was a member of the famous 88th Infantry and served in the Philippines. After being discharged he enlisted in the Mexican rebel army under Gen. Manuel Ochoa in Sept. 1916, and was commissioned captain, and later lieutenant colonel in command of

Nara Laredo. His commander became unpopular with the Mexican government and was discharged and Sergt. Newhouse requested that he also be given his discharge. It was granted and he entered the service of the British flag. He has been to the Belgian lines for three months and served under fire.

While in Chicago last year the British government assigned him to the duty of drilling recruits enlisted under that flag and for months he conducted his drill classes in Grant Park.

Famous Black Soldiers of France

Show Remarkable Bravery

The Chicago Defender

Paris, France, Jan. 18.—The "Bulletin of the Armies," issued by the French government after the completion of every drive in which the allied armies participated, gives some of the most amazing records of heroism in the history of wars. The Algerian and Singalese soldiers are gaining favor continuously as fighters of the first rank. The records of these soldiers are heralded on the English continent as incomparable achievements of bravery, and upon every occasion where they have paraded the streets preparatory to leaving for the first line trenches storms of applause have greeted them from every roadside and tavern, and upon one occasion when these black troops returned to the city of Paris, after having been engaged in a vigorous drive against the Germans at Verdun, every soldier was bedecked with a shower of flowers tendered him by French women, who wept bitterly as they viewed the wounded troopers limp through the Paris thoroughfares.

One of the most remarkable feats recorded in the bulletin was the work performed by a corporal of a French infantry regiment, Louis Hermitte, a Singalese. After a German attack in December last he went out of the trench and drove back the enemy by hurling hand grenades. He dug himself in a little corner quite close to the German line and stayed there for several days. He received a military medal.

Black troops of France have won many honors and have shown themselves unafraid of suffering. One page in the bulletin was devoted to the mention of five cases of Algerian and Singalese soldiers, men born in a hot climate and quite unused to frost and snow, who remained at their posts under fire and fought bravely, though all of them were terribly frostbitten—so badly in two cases that both legs had to be amputated. In two other cases the men lost a leg each. One of these men endured the agony of frostbite and of terrific German attacks for nineteen consecutive days and finally fell when his ammunition gave out. Still another, with hands and feet frozen, fought with such fury that he captured several machine guns and single handed brought back sixty German prisoners. These feats of heroism have crowned several of the men with the Victoria cross honors, but these honors are not received with a rainglorious boast on the part of the soldiers. It is one of the highest honors that a soldier can receive from the government.

Hard fighting in close quarters calls for a greater measure of athletic ability and superior physical strength and endurance. This the Singalese seem to possess to a greater degree than any other allied body. In every single close battle with the Germans they have proved themselves masters of the situation and have slaughtered their opponents unmercifully. In one instance Corporal Hamilde Annonetti was badly gassed, but continued work until his lungs were overcrowded with the vapor. He was taken to the relief sta-

tion and begged to go back to the firing line to finish his attack. After being temporarily relieved he escaped from the hospital and dragged himself two miles over bullet riddled ground and renewed his attack, killing, it is claimed, over five Germans who were manning a machine gun. He was picked up by the ambulance corps with both legs shot away.

FRENCH HAVE COLORED GENERAL, SAID FOCH

Guardian
WHEN COLORED AMERICAN MILITARY ELEMENTS WANTED FRENCH MARSHAL TO SEGREGATE COLORED AMERICAN FIGHTERS WHO CAME TO HELP FRANCE.

General Dodds was stationed in Cochin, China, for many years in command of the Oriental armies of France where his military and diplomatic skill were so great that France named him to take charge of the allied armies in their march to Peking at the time of the Boxer insurrection.

He speaks many languages and dialects and his familiarity with the Chinese language and literature contributed largely to his pre-eminent success in the Orient.

The story is told how certain Southern influences attempting to get Marshal Foch entangled in the web of race prejudice, seeking to segregate colored officers and soldiers in France, received from the great Field Marshal the following reply:

"Gentlemen: When General Pershing came to France he found a black man at the head of the French Army. France has no color prejudice, and persecutes no man on account of color or creed."

ASK U. S. NEGRO TO SAVE AFRICA

British Pastor Urges Them to Aid Black Victims of Hun Misrule.

N. Y. C. MAIL, NOVEMBER 8, 1918
Hundreds of negro students in Methodist theological seminaries throughout the United States were invited to-day by U. N. Ruffin, a member of the London Chamber of Commerce, to volunteer as missionaries for the Christianization of Hottentots, Hereros and other black

tribes in former German colonies in southwest Africa.

Mr. Ruffin, speaking as a guest at the annual conference of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, now in session in Yonkers, intimated that the British government stood ready to finance educated American negroes who would go to Africa and help to enlighten and uplift the blacks there, who, he said, were impoverished and weak as the result of German misrule.

Bishop U. W. Anderson, of Cincinnati, who introduced Mr. Ruffin, referred to the \$80,000,000 fund which the Methodists plan to raise by June 1. Part of this money is to be devoted to missions in Africa. Among others who spoke on conditions in "the dark continent," were Bishop A. P. Camphor, of Liberia, Bishop J. C. Hartzell, of Ohio, and Bishop I. B. Scott, of Nashville, Tenn.

French families have pledged themselves "to keep the graves of American soldiers green," according to the Rev. Ralph B. Umy, pastor of a Newark, N. J., church, who recently returned from Y. M. C. A. work overseas.

Dr. Umy related a number of instances of French affection for dead American soldiers. Whole communities, he said, turned out to funerals and cases of the "adoption" of dead soldiers were common. Upon the rude wooden cross over the graves, beneath the name of the soldier are the words, "Adopted by" and the names of the French foster parents.

AFRICAN TROOPS

HOLD UP ALLIES

The Amsterdam, 9/16/18
German Native Fighters Stop Advance of Combined Force of Foes

London, Aug. 15.—The beginning of a forward movement in the Lindi area on the Indian Ocean in Southeastern German East Africa is described in an official statement issued to-night. The offensive began August 2, when the Germans were driven from their advanced positions on the Mibubia stream, 10 miles southwest of Lindi. The enemy's main positions were assaulted August 3 in a frontal attack by African troops. They made some progress, but a turning movement on the German right flank encountered strongly posted defenses concealed in dense brush. Severe fighting ensued, the enemy vigorously counter attacking and the British, Indian and African forces fighting with great gallantry.

The action was indecisive, the losses on both sides being considerable. The native troops of the Germans fighting with great gallantry and successfully retarding the British advance.

IBERIA WANTS VOICE IN PEACE CONFERENCE

The Star
Bishop Camphor Asserts Country Will Insist on Self-Determination for Africa

mination for Africa
New York, 1-16-18
Liberia expects a voice in the peace conference, and will stand for the right of self-determination for Africa. This is the assertion of Bishop Alexander F. Camphor, head of the Methodist Episcopal church in Liberia, whose opinion is expressed in a statement issued to-day by the Joint Centenary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

"We believe that the disposal of the African colonies should be decided by the natives themselves," declared Bishop Camphor. "Liberian statesmen will probably ask that this principle be applied not only to former German colonies, but also to parts of Liberia which were absorbed by England and France. The sentiment toward these two countries, though not very cordial for a time, has decidedly improved since Liberia followed the United States into the war. It was a desire to stand by America in all things that prompted the declaration of war against Germany."

"Liberia has done her bit by sending hundreds of laborers into France. Since the republic has compulsory military training, these men are able to fight as well as work. The Government also took over the German cable and wireless system and sent 200 German citizens to Liberia for internment. These Germans formerly controlled seventy-five per cent of Liberia's commercial enterprises. Their holdings were sold at public auction."

The colored republic had a glimpse of all war last April when a German submarine sank the one vessel which constitutes Liberia's navy and shelled Monrovia, the capital. The shelling, which allowed a refusal on the part of the resident to destroy the French cables and wireless apparatus, resulted in the killing of ten persons.

GERMANY AND THE NEGRO.
ATLANTA GA INDEPENDENT
AUGUST 31, 1918
(From the Austin American.)

"The American Negro finds more reasons to fight Germany than the American white man," says a writer in an eastern paper. This statement is extreme, but it is true that no country has treated the Negro so badly as has Germany. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch recently quoted the following from a proclamation issued by General von Trotha in southwest Africa.

The Hereros must now quit the soil. If they refuse, I shall force them with the gun. Every Herero, with or without a weapon, with or without cattle, found in German territory, I will have shot. I shall not look after the women and children, but will drive them back to their own people or shoot them.

One result of such methods is that the German colonies in Africa never have been real colonies. They have been military outposts. While England has builded an empire in South Africa and France has attached her North African possessions so firmly to her that she is able to draw fighters from them, Germany's ruthless

policy has resulted in nothing but military occupation. Fertile as is the soil of southwest Africa that country remains undeveloped and its natives must be genuinely glad that the Germans have been driven out.

No, the black man has no more reasons to fight Germany than has the white man, but he has reason good enough, both patriotic and racial.

BRITISH LABOR AND THE NEGRO QUESTION.
JANUARY 18, 1918

The British Labor Party, answering the Russian peace proposals, take at least one position that will have sympathetic response in this part of the world. Observe the positive declaration of British laboring men in respect of the Africans:

"In tropical Africa we repeat our pronouncement of our determinations. Nobody contends that the black race can govern themselves. They can only make it known that the particular government under which they have been living is bad in some or all respects and indicate the specific evil from which they have suffered. We believe that the peace conference would be well advised to place all tropical Africa under uniform international control."

Yet the laboring men of England were indispensable to the emancipation of the negroes in the '60s. But for the cotton mill operatives in the Lancashire district and other British workers, Great Britain would have recognized the Confederate States. The lack of cotton in England during our great war caused extreme suffering in the textile communities, but the operatives stood firmly by the British party opposed to the South.

In their present position is no real inconsistency with that of the '60s. The abolition party in Great Britain was not a universal suffrage party. On the contrary, the British people were at that time very far from universal manhood suffrage and scarcely entertained the notion of it for themselves. Perhaps there was no more intolerant hater of negro slavery than was Charles Dickens, but upon visiting the United States about 1868 and seeing the ballot in the hands of ignorant negroes, he expressed a disgust as intense as had been his denunciations of slavery itself.

The expression of the Labor Party is interesting for the sweepingness with which it disposes of the worldwide negro question. "Nobody contends that the black race can govern themselves"—could any pronouncement be more unqualified and final? Of course, it does not say that negroes living in association with white men should not share in government, but it is equivalent to saying that their sharing in it should be permissive and selective. It is a clear sign that the judgment of the world, apart from prejudice, is about that of the Southern white people and in accord with opinions about the negro's political qualifications held by Abraham Lincoln.

Africa

Black Republic in Africa Is Suggested by White Man as Race Problem Solution

The Cleveland Advocate
"No Great Number of White Americans Will Submit to Domination by Colored People," Says Writer

NEW ORLEANS, La., Nov. 20.—A republic for American Negroes under an American protectorate is proposed by C. W. Heath of Washtuena, Wash., in a letter to the editor of The Times-Picayune. He argues that the allies, at the peace table, will give the United States as much of the German African colonies as may be needed for the purposes; and would lend enough ships to transport the Negroes to their new republic. His letter headed "America's Greatest Problem," follows:

Washtuena, Wash., Oct. 29, 1918.
 To the Editor of The Times-Picayune:
 The first cargo of Negroes was landed in Virginia by a Dutch slave ship in 1619. By 1740, 140,000 were imported. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the number of slaves had become so great as to excite apprehension of slave insurrection, and several of the colonial legislatures endeavored by duties and prohibitions to restrict further importation. Such restrictive laws were, in some cases, disallowed by the British government as prejudicial to the interests of the British merchants engaged in the slave trade. The Negroes of America were made free in 1865, and were later given the full right of franchise by constitutional amendment.

President Lincoln advocated their purchase and deportation with a view of colonization in a foreign country. The southern states refused to consider it. Since that time no serious action has been undertaken to relieve

t. Their numbers have now increased to such extent as to render such action almost impossible.

But is it impossible? Are we, as Americans, having the best interests of our country at heart, performing our full duty when we permit the Negro proposition to drift into a condition the gravity of which few can foretell, but many may conjecture?

It is a beautiful theory that places the Negro on the same plane of citizenship, and all that it implies, with the white citizen. But it is, after all, only a theory, as too many of us know and all may learn after proper investigation.

I was born and grew to manhood in the north. I lived several years in the extreme south and understand the social conditions in both parts of the country. We need only to consult our national statistics to learn of the rapid increase of our Negro population, and of the high birth rate.

Were it not for the high birth rate of our colored population and the great flood of European emigration to this country the Negro question would have become an alarming question long ago. This flood of emigration is not likely to continue indefinitely.

The vital national question is, when will the Negro demand the full right of franchise given him by the constitution, and will it be well with this country when he does?

All intelligent, practical white American citizens know that such right will be firmly contested when it is demanded. No great number of white American citizens will ever submit to the

THE COLORED PEOPLE'S PART IN WORLD WAR

(Continued From First Page.)

troops he crossed the eastern frontier immediately on the declaration of war and attacked Kusséri, about 70 miles South of Lake Chad, in the triangle formed by the meeting of the north-west boundary lines between Cameroons and Nigeria on the West and French Equatorial Africa on the East.

The town is strongly placed at the junction of the Logone and Shari rivers, well fortified and strongly garrisoned. The attack was repelled and when the French withdrew the Germans took the offensive, capturing a small post and inducing Karnak, the Sultan of Logone, to rise against the French.

On the 28th of August the Sultar was defeated by the French, who advanced to Kusséri and again attacked it on the 21st of September. The garrison made a stubborn fight but were compelled to yield by a brilliant bayonet charge of the Senegalese Tirailleurs. They fled in panic and abandoned all their guns, ammunition and other supplies.

General Largeau took possession of Kusséri and made it his base of operations. On the 4th of October a column of Lieutenant-Colonel Brisset was despatched to join a force of Nigerian troops operating to the south-west in the region of the Mandara mountains.

Colonel Brisset's force consisted mainly of recruits from Moshi, north of Ashanti. Capturing several small posts enroute, it arrived at Mora, nearly 90 miles S. S. W. of Kusséri on the 14th and joined hands with the Nigerian force.

Immediately on war being declared by Great Britain Sir Frederick Lugard, Governor-General of Nigeria, had concentrated three columns composed of men of the Nigerian Regiment of the West African Frontier Force near the frontier. These columns entered Cameroons on the 25th of August. The most northerly column started from Maiduguri, under the command of Capt. R. W. Fox, marched on Mora 110 miles to the south-east, and endeavored to carry it by assault.

The attempt failed. Mora being placed on a commanding eminence in very rugged and difficult country, almost impregnable to direct attack, well fortified and provisioned and ably and resolutely defended by its Commandant, Hauptmann (Captain) von Raben. The attackers then established a watch until the French

reinforcement arrived. Another assault was delivered and failed. Several positions were carried by Colonel Brisset's troops in night attacks but were recovered by counter attacks, the fighting being so severe that the Germans asked for an armistice to bury their dead.

Colonel Brisset and Captain Fox then decided to divide their forces, the Nigerians remaining to blockade Mora, while their Allies advanced to Marua, a large Muhammadan town about 15 miles further South. Driving before him a German force advancing to the relief of Mora, Colonel Brisset attacked the town. Although the attack was not successful the Germans abandoned the position during the night and retired to Garue, a large town on the Benue near the Nigerian frontier, and 160 miles south-west of Marua.

As the operations at Mora had no decisive effect on the result of the conflict, which was fought out on another area, it may be stated here that the blockade was maintained until August, 1915, when Brigadier-General Cunliffe again ordered an assault. The Nigerian troops attacked with desperate and determined courage against almost insuperable natural obstacles.

General Cunliffe thus describes the position: "Mora mountain has a base perimeter of about 30 miles, it rises precipitously to a height of 1,700 feet, and its sides, which are so steep as to be accessible only in a few places to men using both hands and feet, are covered with huge boulders, affording excellent cover to the defenders."

From a hill called Ouatchke, the summit of which is of nearly equal height, but separated from Mora mountain by a deep valley 600 yards wide, three separate attacks were launched. The third succeeded in gaining a foothold on the summit only to find its progress stopped by a redoubt.

An assault with the bayonet on this work by the Nigerian Regiment was stopped within 60 yards of the defences, but these indomitable troops held the position they had gained for forty-eight hours without food or water, which it was impossible to supply to them, and the General was obliged to order them to retire, which they did only in obedience to their orders.

In consequence of the development of the course of the operations in other parts of the country, General Cunliffe's force was now recalled for service on the Coast, troops equal in numbers to the original investing force being left to maintain a blockade. This was maintained until all the other German forces having been defeated, Hauptmann von Raben was called upon to surrender on honorable terms which he accepted, and capitulated with his whole force on the 18th of February, 1916.

The operations so far described had been conducted in the Eastern extremities of the interior country, but the decisive struggle took place in the Western portion and near the

Coast. These operations were under command of Major-General Charles Dobell, K. C. B., Inspector-General of the West African Frontier Force, composed entirely of natives of West Africa under British officers. The base of operations was Duala, the chief port of Cameroons and the starting point of a railway.

It is necessary always to bear in mind the vast area of the country involved in these operations. It forms a great triangle with Duala at its apex. The northern side from Duala to Kusséri is 650 miles long; the southern side, from Duala is 600 miles long; while the base, from Kusséri to Bonga, measures 900 miles.

The western half of this vast area is covered by the forest described above, through which the advancing forces had to hew their own path, and which afforded a skillful and determined enemy constant opportunities for surprise attacks on forces necessarily extended in a thin line over a great length of road.

All the troops engaged on both sides, though for convenience spoken of as British, French or German, were black men, natives of the West Coast, drilled and trained in the European discipline and provided with arms of precision. Whether fighting for the Germans or the Allies, they equally proved the courage, and the high military capacity and value of the African.

and passed the following resolutions;

"This congress, in Bloemfontein assembled, strongly opposes the Native Affairs Administration Bill, and binds itself, severally and collectively, to agitate for its defeat;

"This congress hereby decides to appoint a committee to investigate all cases of shooting of natives by Europeans in each province, and to place the result before the Government;

"This congress views with great alarm the revival of the anti-color principles disclosed in both the Native Affairs Administration Bill and General Smuts' speech in England, as reported in the public press;

The Crisis October 1917. P. 16.

From Office of Emmett J. Scott

Special Assistant to Secretary of War

AFRICAN COLONIES SHOULD NEVER BE RESTORED TO GERMAN DOMINATION.

Emmett J. Scott Voices Earnest Protest of 12,000,000 American Negroes Against Returning Oppressed Black Peoples to German Tyranny.

Urges Larger Liberties for African Allies, Under Government of an International Commission—One Member of Commission to be a Colored American—How Black Men of the World Have Aided in War for Freedom and Democracy.

NEW YORK, November 4.—At a monster patriotic meeting Saturday night at Carnegie Hall, under the auspices of The Circle of Negro War Relief, the principal speaker was Irvin S. Cobb, the famous war correspondent, who has recently returned from the French front, where he was a witness to some of the most important battles of the present conflict of the Allies against Germany. Mr. Cobb's theme was "The Negro Soldier," and his remarks were of especial interest because of his intimate contact with the colored American warriors during their trying "baptisms of fire." Harrison Rhodes, well-known as a magazine writer, and whose stories of the activities of the Negroes in the war have attracted inter-

national attention, presided over the Carnegie Hall meeting.

Prominent among other speakers who were heard on this occasion was Emmett J. Scott, secretary of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, and for eighteen years the confidential secretary of the late Booker T. Washington. He was appointed a little more than a year ago by Secretary Newton D. Baker as a Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, to advise him with reference to the many delicate problems growing out of the relation of the 12,000,000 Negroes of this country to the war, and to indicate to his people how they might render the most effective aid in bringing victory to the American arms.

THE NEGRO'S PART IN THE WORLD-WIDE WAR.

Dr. Scott prefaced his address with the declaration that "this is the people's war—not a white man's war, not a black man's war, but a war of all the people under the Stars and Stripes for the preservation of human liberty throughout the world." In this conflict for liberty and world-wide democracy, Dr. Scott said "The Negro is proving to be a notable and inspiring figure." He warned his people not to be deceived by unofficial statements or expressions that peace is near, declaring that an enduring peace will never come until the enemy is decisively beaten, and pledging the continuance of the loyal black battlers in the forefront of strife to the very finish—until an honorable peace has been enforced or obtained.

NEARLY 400,000 COLORED AMERICANS UNDER ARMS.

Dr. Scott noted that there are now overseas, "at grips with the master in fancy of the civilized world or awaiting the call to active combat, nearly 400,000 gallant black soldiers, the 'fruit and flower of the Negro race.'" These, he said, represent a response of more than 50 per cent of the total number of Negroes registered in the draft, and a larger proportionate number than has been true of other racial groups registered under the first draft. "And this number," added Dr. Scott, "takes no account of the sturdy, upstanding men of my race who are members of the four 'crack' regiments of the Regular Army, nor of the 12,000 brawny men who came into service through the National Guard organizations, such as the 'Fighting Fifteenth' of New York, which has, along with others, won imperishable fame on the battle field in France." He pointed with pride to the fact that while the Negro represented only 8 per cent of the first draft registration the race has actually contributed 15 per cent to the number called to the colors under said draft. He noted also that in every 100 in the first draft examined for service, proximately 36 per cent of the Negroes were accepted, while only 24 per cent of the whites were accepted, a difference of 12 per cent in the Negroes' favor for physical quality. This, he contended, dissipates the ancient yarn about the black race being a deteriorating or decadent people. Relatively fewer colored men claimed exemption from military service than did the whites.

Dr. Scott further declared that the war, "grim-visaged and ruthless as it is, has served or afforded the Negroes an opportunity once more to prove their unbounded, unfaltering loyalty—their 100 per cent Americanism and to demonstrate their immunity from insidious German propaganda. The war has made for the advancement of the material welfare of the race. Prior to the present conflict the Negro had less than a dozen com-

missioned officers; now he has more than 1,200, all highly-qualified and forward-looking men. From an army of but four regiments, with only infantry and cavalry, the race has now its 400,000 men represented in every conceivable branch of the service, and the reports from officers, from General Pershing down, indicate that these men are giving an excellent account of themselves. Dr. Scott read several letters from French and American officers testifying to the gallantry and valor of the colored men under the severest shell-fire and how they had held the line intact in many instances under the most trying circumstances.

URGES SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR COLONIES UNDER INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION.

After noting numerous cases where black men had been awarded the French Croix de Guerre and paying a tribute to the priceless labors of the black soldiers of America and elsewhere to "make the world safe for democracy," Dr. Scott made a somewhat startling plea for a solemn guarantee of international protection and larger liberties for the darker races of the world, registering a fervent protest against any policy that might restore to Germany her pillaged African colonies and urging a form of self-government for these oppressed peoples, under an appointed International Commission, upon which shall be a colored American "to voice the inarticulate yearnings of that host of exploited and pillaged people."

PROTESTS AGAINST RESTORING AFRICAN COLONIES TO GERMANY.

Elaborating this point with reference to the future of the colonies wrested from German domination and tyranny, Dr. Scott described the revolting cruelties perpetuated upon the natives in the African dependencies, noting an official report of Edmund H. L. Gorges, Secretary of the Interior for the South African Union, which tells of the enslaving of men and the outraging of women, of hangings and floggings and wholesale massacres, with many tribes threatened with extinction. In Togoland, where the oppression was especially rife, it is stated that the population fell off a million souls in less than two decades of murder and rapine.

"May we not, in this solemn hour, register our fervent protest against any contemplation of restoring to Germany these African colonies she has so long oppressed and betrayed?" asked Dr. Scott. "It is too much to say that to restore these helpless black men to their former oppressors would be a terrible betrayal? Has not the hour come in which men, even of Darkest Africa, may cry out for the right to elect or ordain their own destiny under an acceptable tutelage and guidance of enlightened men rather than under oppressive and cruel masters?"

"Black men of America and Africa have helped to rout and humble the Hun," continued Dr. Scott. "When civilization all but tottered to its doom, Senegalese, Algerian and Soudanese troops stayed the Hun and saved civilization to the world. Soon around the Peace Table representatives of the nations of the Earth are to gather. France and

England in their hour of need have gladly accepted the allegiance and the assistance of tribes from Africa. A great and responsible duty now devolves upon the nations of the world to see that these poor people, along with other oppressed peoples, shall not be again placed under the iron heel of malignant oppressors.

"In truth, the hour has come, in my opinion, when the world should decide that not only are these colonies not to be turned back to Germany, but to no other nation as well.

"May not we, brothers by racial ties and blood sympathy of these African peoples, speak for them and call for their freedom, for their liberties, for the self-determination of their destiny, AND FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION, which shall in future govern these colonies, AND UPON WHICH COMMISSION THERE SHOULD SIT A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE 12,000,000 COLORED PEOPLE OF AMERICA, who represent the largest group of forward-looking black people of the world, TO VOICE THE INARTICULATE YEARNINGS OF THAT HOST OF EXPLOITED AND PILLAGED PEOPLE!"

ARE YOU READY TO SUPPORT SUCH A REQUEST?

PLEDGES LOYALTY OF NEGRO AMERICANS TO OUR FLAG.

In conclusion Dr. Scott said: "Till Victory and Peace come, we shall continue to pledge to the President of the United States and the national government all that we have and that we are, whether at the bleeding battle front, or wherever faithful service will count most toward winning the great war in which we are engaged. We are pledged to do everything that will help and nothing that will hamper our Government in winning this war for the honor, the independence and the sacred principles of Our Country, and the ultimate freedom of all the mankind.

"We can pledge no more—OUR COUNTRY EXPECTS NO LESS!"

Race Problem - 1918

Africa

SHALL GERMANY HAVE HER COLONIES BACK?

ONE DEMAND BY GERMANY sure to be made at the peace-table is that her colonies be restored to her, and she is especially keen about her former African possessions, we are told, but some British editorial observers feel that England will never yield to her wish. They quote from Mr. Lloyd George's war-aim speech of last January, in which he said that "the German colonies are held at the disposal of a conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants of such colonies," and he spoke also of applying to them "the general principle of self-determination." Before the war Germany had four colonies in Africa, one in Asia, and nine islands or groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean, we are reminded, and their entire estimated area was 1,027,820 square miles. What may be considered an official statement of her colonial aspirations is found in a speech of Dr. W. S. Solf, German Secretary of State for the Colonies, who declared that "the safeguarding of our colonial future is not only the aim of our Government and certain groups of individuals, but it has become an aim of the German people." Dr. Solf said further:

"A lively consciousness now extends far into the workers' circles that the retention of our colonies is a vital question for the honor of Germany as a great Power. Our colonial war-aims are second to no other in national importance. The growing realization of German workers as to Germany's position is especially gratifying in view of the plans of our enemies."

Turning then to an address of Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Solf charged him with having "formally announced Great Britain's claim for the annexation of our colonies," and speaking of Mr. Balfour's reference to improved conditions in colonies taken from Germany, Dr. Solf stated:

"This means that England conquers land and asserts that she can govern it better than its lawful owners, and from this derive the claim to annex it. Does the British Foreign Secretary know nothing of the decimation of the colored populations of the various African colonies by the Entente's action? Nothing of the enforced recruiting in British East Africa? Nothing of the gigantic armies of warriors and workers from the British and French colonies?"

"Has he any idea of the immeasurable damage to the colonial mission of all civilized races which must result from the use of black armies in battle against the white races and the bringing of the former to Europe?"

"The short history of our colonies shows that neither in Africa

nor in the Pacific have we pursued an aggressive policy. We strive for no supremacy, no preponderance of power. We wish for a compromise between the colonial possessions which shall correspond to the economic strength of the European nations and to the merits they have shown in the protection of the colored races entrusted to their care. Economic energy alone is not a sufficient claim."

A flat denial of Dr. Solf's foregoing utterance is made in the London press by Lord Robert Cecil, who declares that when Dr. Solf says Mr. Balfour or any British statesman has "definitely proposed the annexation of the African colonies to the British Empire, that is inaccurate." No such proposal has ever been made, according to Lord Robert Cecil, who is further quoted as follows:

"Mr. Balfour and others have said that it is impossible for Germany to resume control of her colonies. Beyond that, neither Mr. Balfour nor Mr. Lloyd George has gone. The Prime Minister said that the future of the German colonies would be decided at the peace conference. Clearly a great world issue can not be settled by this country alone. It has to be settled in concert with her Allies."

"Dr. Solf is very indignant at the suggestion that German rule is inhumane. I do not believe that any one knowing the facts will accept that opinion. The British Government has collected information on that subject, and in a short time there will be a Blue Book about German rule in the colonies. Some of the evidence is a fearful record of brutality. I can not accept Dr. Solf's doctrine that the Germans wanted a peaceful African Empire. On the contrary, we know, at any rate, one important section of German thought advocated a German African Empire, to dominate Africa militarily and furnish a great store for the military purposes of the German Empire. That is quite apart from the fact that the possession of coastal ports would be the greatest danger to the British Empire and of importance to Germany."

In the London press also Prime Minister Massey, of New Zealand, states that he has no personal knowledge as to the German African colonies, but he does know something of the Pacific Islands, and—

"I am able to say that Germany is hated and detested by the native races there, who, on the other hand, have shown in the most practical form their sympathy with Britain and Britain's Allies. Natives of New Zealand, Fiji, Nuie, Rarotonga, the Gilbert Islands, and other places have made the supreme sacrifice for the great cause which has drawn British citizens to the different theaters of war from every corner of the earth. I have never heard, however, of a native of any of the islands occupied by Germany prior to the war who wants to fight for Germany and against Britain."

Herr von Lindequist, who was German Colonial Secretary

after Dr. Dernburg, and before Dr. Solf, startlingly discloses in the Berlin *Tägliche Rundschau* some German reasons why Germany should recover Southwest Africa, and we read that

"For the position of power of our chief enemy, England, in South Africa, it is a matter of decisive importance whether Southwest Africa comes under English sovereignty or not. With this question stand or fall General Botha, the chief pillar of Great Britain in the Union, and his evil spirit, General Smuts."

Herr von Lindequist avers that a rebel movement in South Africa is gaining in strength, and adds:

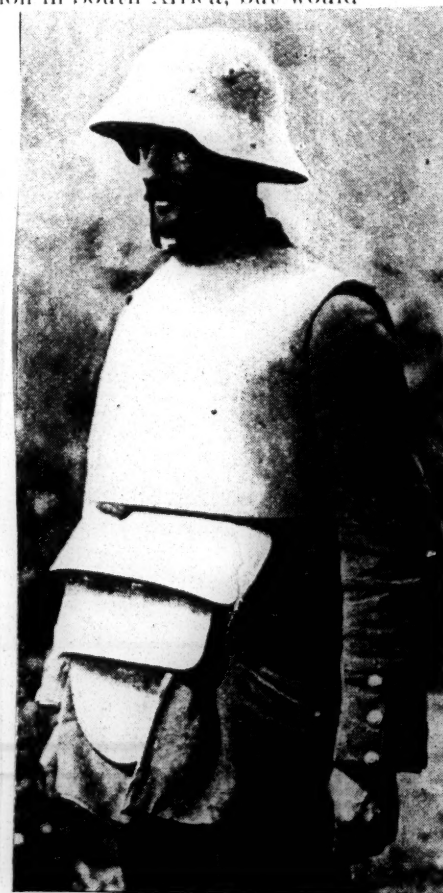
"Even if Botha once more maintains his position by force he will certainly fall with the evacuation of German Southwest Africa, and a Nationalist Afrikaner Ministry will take the place of the English Botha. That means for England the loss of her position of power at the Cape; for German Southwest Africa it means a good neighbor; and for Germany it means a well-wisher with whom to bargain in all South-African questions."

"If, on the other hand, German Southwest Africa were to become English, that would confirm the accuracy of the policy of Botha and Smuts, and their position and the power of the English party, whose tools they are, would be so greatly strengthened that even a German Central Africa would be imperiled. . . . The loss of German Southwest Africa would not only strengthen very considerably England's position in South Africa, but would also create from the outset a strong and dangerous enemy for the German possessions in the north."

It is noted in some quarters that while the German Government professes to be opposed to the "militarization" of Africa, the Berlin *Kreuzzeitung* is responsible for the following:

"Of necessity Germany will follow the example of her enemies in militarization. The natives of Kamerun and German East Africa are by no means inferior to the Senegalese or Kongo negroes in military qualities and efficiency. In Southwest Africa the Hereros, and especially the Hottentots, will supply splendid military material. In the military training of colored troops Germany will march at the head of all the nations. Our enemies will have to realize this quite clearly. And France will hardly be able in a future war to fill up her regiments with African reserves."

"Among the demands upon which Germany must insist in a victorious peace is the rounding off of her colonial territory in Africa. East Africa, Togo, and Southwest Africa will form the corner-stones of a united German Central Africa. A victorious Germany will be able to demand, as indemnity from England, France, Belgium, and Portugal those cessions of territory which she needs for the building up of her Central African colonial empire. German Africa, from the Atlantic to the



Canadian official photo from Western Newspaper Union.

A GERMAN IN ARMOR.

This prisoner, taken by the Canadians, shows how modern war is bringing the old medieval idea of armor back into use.

Indian Ocean, must be our watchword.

"A self-contained German Central Africa, equipped with a strong white and colored army, will never permit her neighbors to transfer a single man from Africa to the European theater of war. New Germany in Central Africa will not only be invincible, but will also permanently fetter the forces of her neighbors in Europe."

The London *Saturday Review* voices the opinion that British South Africa has "resolutely made up its mind not again to tolerate a German Africa on its frontiers," and the grounds for this, briefly, are that—

"The Germans have proved themselves impossible as neighbors. So far as the natives are concerned, South-Africans have had bitter experience, before and since the war, of the kind of sedition-mongering that the Germans have fostered among them, and of the depths to which these exponents of *Kultur* will descend on the chance of securing a political advantage. South Africa knows, too, the meaning of German militarism as applied to native races: how Germany has trained, and would continue to train, her black armies in the German tradition—the tradition that was responsible for the murderous horrors of the Herero war and other campaigns of brutal repression undertaken by Germany in Africa, no less than for the late tragedies in France and Belgium."

GERMANY'S LAST COLONY GONE

AFTER STUBBORN RESISTANCE of over three years the last German colony has fallen before the joint efforts of the British, Portuguese, and Belgians. Of Germany's vast colonial army which fought so gallantly in German East Africa only a small remnant remains in being, and this has fled into the tropical jungles of Portuguese Africa, where measures are being taken to deal with it. Since August last, when the final round-up in Germany's last colony began, 1,410 Germans and 4,149 *Askaris*, or native soldiers, have been taken, together with eleven big guns and fifty-six machine guns, while vast quantities of stores have become the booty of the British. The London *Saturday Review* in a satirical paragraph remarks:

"The British occupation of the colony that was formerly German East Africa is now complete. All that are left of the enemy forces in those regions have been driven over the Rovuma River into Portuguese territory. 'German East' has ceased to exist as a political entity for many months past, but none the less the message stating that British 'political officers are being

appointed to all districts' will be a bitter pill for the German Colonial Minister Solf, whose occupation is now utterly and entirely gone. Thanks in the first place to British sea-power, Germany is left without a single square foot of ground outside Europe upon which she can dump her Prussianizing officials. There is, or was, until quite recently, in Germany a 'Central Africa' party. 'Vere is dat barty now?'"

The London *Tablet* gives us a convenient summary of Germany's lost colonies, with their areas and dates of capture, in the following table:

1914		Colony	Area sq. m.
August 25		Togoland	33,700
August 29		Samoa	1,000
September 11		Bismarck Islands	22,640
September 24		New Guinea	70,000
November 9		Kiaochow	200
1915			
July 9		S. W. Africa	322,450
1916			
February 18		Kamerun	191,130
1917			
December 1		East Africa	384,180

Looking, then, into the future, *The Saturday Review* is much exercised in its mind as to whether through any "mistaken notions of generosity" the British may be "foolish enough" to restore to Germany any or all of her lost colonies when the war is over; and in view of the German insistence, in Count Czernin's peace offer, on colonial restitution, the London weekly has some grounds for its apprehension. It remarks:

"If we consider the question from the broadest point of view we see that German development in Africa was along routes from east to west which were intended to cut our lines of communication between north and south. The Germans had actually cut that line, and were undoubtedly preparing themselves for a great struggle for the future of Africa, which may be, altho most people do not see it as yet, of vast importance to the future of the whole world. Is it wise, considering the money we have spent in this war and the debt we have piled up, to throw away our command of a region at present almost uncultivated and uninhabited, the value of which is now at prairie level, but if developed might contribute, in some measure at least, to the cost of the war?"

The Germans apparently ~~have~~ no intention whatever of regarding the evacuation of German East Africa as anything

more than a temporary war-reverse. The *Kölnische Zeitung* in an article entitled "The World-Wide Political Importance of German East Africa," frankly confesses that for years Germany has been aiming at the creation of a German wedge dividing Africa from coast to coast. Altho in 1911 Germany by her treaty with France apparently made a renunciation of this ideal, she really, says the *Kölnische Zeitung*, "aimed at the creation of a German-Belgium economic area in the Kongo basin ex-

tending from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic." When the war began, Germany had "an incomparable geographical position in East Africa . . . a wedge be-

tween the English claim to sole domination in East Africa and South Africa—a dividing and immovable wedge." The importance the Germans attach to the ideal of a colonial empire can be seen from the *Kölnische Zeitung's* final remarks, which run:

"All our wishes will be realized if by our victories in Europe we can compel England to recognize us as an equal colonial Power."

Despite the war, Germany's prophets are looking to the future and seeing visions and dreaming dreams of what she is going to accomplish in Africa. Dr. Krenkel, the famous Leipzig geologist, who was taken prisoner in East Africa soon after the outbreak of the war and is now on parole in Switzerland, sends a long article to the Berlin *Tägliche Rundschau*, in which he refuses to face the accomplished fact, and says:

"East Africa remains ours, and we will not let it be taken away. But we will not only have back our old tropical colonies, we must want more—not just to possess colonies, but to be a colonial Power. Germany needs a great, strong Central African colonial empire with good frontiers and good sea-routes connecting it with the German Empire—a great power in Germany and a great power in Africa—that will make any attack on us impossible in the future. Our future colonial empire must stretch from the Kamerun to the coast of the Indian Ocean and from Mozambique westward to Angola."



DAR-ES-SALAAM.

The capital of German East Africa, the last of Germany's colonies to fall into Allied hands. The name signifies "Haven of Peace."

Race Problem - 1918

Africa

WHAT IS THE NEGRO PROBLEM OF LIBERIA?

The other day, certain Machiavellian political bosses in London

England, began as in the old days of degeneracy to ^{have} ~~have~~ and discuss and disseminate evil communications, saying, what manner of things they shall deem expedient to be done with Africa soon after the war (Amageddon) has terminated, and peace again is established in the world. They declare that a large West African State, in which the Republic of Liberia should be incorporated, must be set up; and the Powers acting conjointly shall appoint a "High Commissioner" (of course white) "to adminster the affairs of this brand new Confederation of States."

"Voice of Missions" March, 1918.

In the legislative councils of Nigeria a native member, Mr. Agasa, has raised a protest against the Empire Resources Developement Committee of England, which proposes a huge monopoly of raw materials after the war. Four thousands natives Nigerian troops have been fighting in German Africa. The cocoa industry continues to grow and the importation of liquor has decreased from 1,808,000 gallons in 1916. One quarter million dollars annually is being spent in education.

The Crisis, October 1918. Page 297.

The report of the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of England has decided that the title of 73,000,000 acres of land in Rhodesia vests in ^{the} English Crown and not in the Chartered Company. Consequently, the concessions made by this company are void. It is now the duty of the natives to convince the Crown that this land should be allotted to them. This is probably the greatest land case in history.

The Crisis. December 1918. Page 90.

The National Party of South Africa, composed of Boers, has protested against Lloyd George's speech with reference to self-determination by Aborigines of South Africa.

The Crisis May 1918. 36.

White workmen struck in Johannesburg, South Africa, and were granted their demands. When 152 natives struck, they were arrested and sentenced to two months labor, under guard. This discrimination aroused public opinion, however, and the sentence was suspended. General Botha issued a manifesto on the subject and appointed a commission, which reports that there can be no real content in the country as long as the natives are denied citizens rights.

The Crisis. December 1918. page 90;
The Director of Education for Southern Rhodesia reports that the natives realize the importance of both scholastic and industrial training, and are taking advantage of their opportunities in nearly every district. Missionaries are training teachers.

The Crisis, December 1918. Page 90.

Eugene Ballard of Columbus Georgia twenty-two years of age, volun-

teered in the French Foreign Legion in 1914. He was twice wounded at Verdun and has the Croix de Guerre, a much coveted decoration for bravery. After six months in the hospital he ~~has~~ enlisted in the Aviation Corps.

The Crisis January 1918. P. 143.

A bill for rearranging the administration of native affairs in the Union of South Africa is under consideration by the Government but probly will not be put in to opperation until after the war. It is probable that the proposed unfair division of land between whites and natives will be partially corrected.

The Crisis, October 1918. Page 297.

The London Observer has published a list of twelve Negro officers in

the West African Forces who have been decorated for bravery.

The Crisis May 1918. P. 36.

Africa

COLORED PEOPLE'S PART IN THE WAR

by the British forces.

LETTER III.

The Togoland Campaign.

Copyrighted by Prof. John E. Bruce. Of all the British possessions the Gold Coast Colony was the first to take an active part in the war. Within a month from the start of hostilities it had carried through a campaign which compelled the surrender of 34,000 square miles of territory under the German flag.

Togoland is a wedge of territory of the Gulf of Guinea, sandwiched between the British Gold Coast Colony to the west and French Dahomey to the east. With only thirty miles of coastline it widens at a short distance from the sea and extends inland about 350 miles, possessing a total area of a little less than 34,000 square miles, slightly larger than Ireland.

On the north it is enclosed by French territory. The chief port, Tome, is only a few miles from the British port of Kitta, and about 110 miles from Lecera, the seat of the Gold Coast Government. Large sums had been expended by the Germans in developing the colony in making the port of Tome into a depot for trade and laying down a railway line about 100 miles to the town of Kamina, almost due north of Tome. They had acted with their usual cruelty towards the natives of the country, whose rights were totally disregarded, the country being treated as an appanage of the German Empire, whose resources, both commercial and human, were to be employed solely for the advantage and profit of Germany and the Germans. Many complaints of brutal disregard of human life and human rights and of scandalous outrages of decency by the German officials and others had been unheard in Europe until German arrogance threatened Europe itself when it was decided that Germany must be turned out of Africa.

There was a special reason for turning them out of Togoland. At Kamina they had erected one of the most powerful wireless installations in the world, with such secrecy that the French authorities in Dahomey were not aware of its existence. It communicated direct with Nauy, near Berlin, and with the German colonies of Cameroon and Southwest Africa, and was, no doubt, intended to maintain communication between Berlin and German warships and commerce raiders operating in the Atlantic. The installation had been completed just before the outbreak of the war, and the designer, Baron Codelli, was still in the colony and was taken prisoner

On the declaration of war with France, Major Von Doring, Acting Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Togoland, assuming that Great Britain would remain neutral, made preparations to seize the French possessions of Dahomey, but had not committed any hostile act when Great Britain entered into the war on the 4th of August. The German Governor, by instruction from Berlin, then cabled to the Acting Governor

of the Gold Coast and to the Governor of French West Africa, proposing that neutrality should be observed between the European colonies. The desirability of maintaining the prestige of the white race in presence of the black races, who might learn dangerous lessons if allowed to take part in a campaign in which white men were opposed to each other, of the bulk of the troops engaged being, of necessity, natives. The proposer was not even answered by the Governor of Dahomey, and on the 16th of August Major von Doring was informed that the British Government could not entertain any such suggestion. On the same day French officers entered the German territory, and meeting with no opposition occupied the port of Little Popo (which the Germans called Anecho), and on the 18th occupied the town of Togo, a few miles inland.

On the Gold Coast preparations for hostilities had started at 11 p. m. on the 29th of July when Mr. C. W. T. Robertson, Acting Governor in the absence of Sir Hugh Clifford, received a cable from the same authorities warning him that precautions should be adopted in view of the possible existence of a state of war.

Steps were at once taken to concentrate the military forces of the colony within striking distance of Togoland, and to secure the necessary supplies for the transport of troops. At midnight on the 4th of August information was received that war had broken out with Germany.

The Chiefs were immediately informed and at once spontaneously came forward with expressions of loyalty and offers of assistance. It was indeed, as the Governor said, "A matter of some difficulty to restrain their ardor." The local volunteer forces exhibited extraordinary enthusiasm, the applications for enlistment far exceeding the requirements of the Government and the supply of arms and equipment.

On the 5th and 6th telegraphic correspondence regarding the German

proposal of neutrality above referred to took place. On the latter day Captain Barker, of the Gold Coast Regiment, was despatched under a flag of truce to Tome to inform the Governor that strong columns were about to enter the colony from east, west and north, and to demand the surrender of the German forces, as resistance was useless. A twenty-four-hour armistice was granted. When Captain Barker returned to Tome at 7 p. m. on the 7th he found that the Governor had withdrawn to the interior with his troops, leaving the District Commissioner with instructions and powers to surrender Tome and the Colony up to a line drawn at 120 kilometres (74½ miles) from that town. The German Governor's intention was to retire up the railway to protect Kamina with its precious wireless installation, which he had imperative instructions from Berlin four times repeated, to defend.

By the 8th August arrangements were completed between Mr. Robertson and Mr. M. Ch. Noufflard, Lieutenant-Governor of Dahomey, for co-operation of the British and French forces. The latter, numbering 450 tirailleurs Senegalais, eight officers, 20 European non-commissioned officers and 2 mountain guns, had, on the same day, occupied positions in the neighborhood of Little Popo and Mono. On the 9th August Mr. Robertson and M. William Ponty, Governor-General of French West Africa, completed arrangements for a combined advance of the British troops of Haut Senegal and Niger on Northern Togoland, and on the 11th the British Governor was informed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Ivory Coast and Dahomey that 500 "Auxiliary Cavalry" and 50 or 60 "Gardes Cercles" had been instructed to advance against Samisanne Mango in Northern Togoland.

N Y C GLOBE

NOVEMBER 5, 1918

'Self-Rule for African Negroes.

Editor Globe:—We do not expect all the wrongs that the Negro is enduring to be righted immediately after the war, but can we not expect a small share of justice for the Negroes of Africa? We hear a great deal of loose talk of the Negro not being competent to govern himself, but who is competent to say another race is incompetent to govern itself? And, even if that is true of the African Negro, must he be put under heartless white rulers? Are there not in this country many Negroes just as competent to govern as any white man ever was, or ever will be? We do not want to see the German colonies turned back to Germany, neither do we want them turned over to another nation to be ruthlessly exploited.

Appoint a Negro commission from this country to govern the Negroes of German Africa and all the other Negro colonies. That will be real justice and democracy. Let us hear no more of not being able to govern themselves. The Negro does not believe that and many other assertions that are continually made concerning his ability. He believes that he can do anything the white man does, and in many cases better.

FRANK T. PAYTON.

TELLS OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO TROOPS BY FRENCH

New York Age
Senegales and Soudanese Distinguish Themselves in World War.

E. D. Y. K.
NO "COLOR LINE"

French Officer Says Colored Soldiers of France are Received Exactly the Same as White Soldiers—Foreign Colored Troops Cannot be Compared with Colored Americans who are Products of Civilization.

EDITOR'S NOTE—The following article was written by Col. Edouard Requin of the French High Military Commission, French Embassy, Washington, D. C. Colonel Requin for ten years or more, was in charge of the French Colonial troops in Senegal and was in charge of an important division of the colored troops at the first battle of the Marne in 1914. Colonel Requin executed General Foch's famous command whereby a division of troops was maneuvered out of the frontal attack with the enemy to another part of the field, taking the enemy on the flanks. He attended the recent conference of editors and other race leaders at Washington, D. C.

BY COL. EDWARD REQUIN

France has had colored troops ever since it has had colonies. These troops have participated in all our expeditions overseas; they have been the best instrument of our colonial expansion. Algerian troops (Arabs and Kabyles) fought in France in 1870-71 against Germany.

But it was for the first time, in 1914, that black troops (Senegales and Soudanese) took part in the European war against an enemy as redoubtable as Germany. If it is asked what has been the results of this experience there is only one answer; they have been excellent.

The black troops of Africa are grouped either by battalions or by regiments with our colonial French troops. The reason is that the colonial officers understand them thoroughly and that the men themselves, in fighting together in the colonies

have acquired a mutual confidence in each other.

Recruited among the warrior tribes of Senegal and the Soudan, these troops have great combatant qualities. They are particularly apt for attack and counter-attack, but they are primitive men, without civilization—men who cannot be compared from this point of view with colored Americans. The black French soldiers are excellent grenadiers, but they are less prepared in the use of the machine gun and the automatic rifle, which demand a certain mechanical aptitude. They receive the same instructions as the French soldiers; these instructions are given to them by white officers and non-commissioned officers who understand them well, and who for this reason ought to be changed as little as possible.

Devoted to Officers.

The characteristic of the black soldier is an entire devotion to those officers who have merited it and whom will never abandon. In other words, the valor of the colored unit depends essentially on grouping and leadership.

Colored troops won distinction for themselves at Dixmude in 1914; at Verdun; on the Somme in 1917; on the Aisne, and more recently still in the counter attack which forced back the Germans north of Copeigne.

These troops are not only devoted to their officers. They are equally devoted to France, whom they serve most loyally, and to the flag which represents France. The following example may be cited as an illustration: One day in 1916, on the Mediterranean, a transport carrying a battalion of Senegalese was torpedoed by a Boche submarine. It was impossible to save everybody. The last who remained on board lined the deck, saluted the flag, and went to the bottom with a discipline and a self-abnegation which must remain an example to all the world.

It is because these soldiers are just as brave and just as devoted as white soldiers that they receive exactly the same treatment, every man being equal before the death which all soldiers face. In the French Army white and black wounded soldiers are cared for in the same hospital by the same personnel, so that just as we have delivered these black men from African barbarism so we have given them civilization and justice; it is their duty in turn to defend among us that justice and that civilization against Prussian barbarism.

I recall a design in the Prussian magazine L'Illustration which represents a Senegalese guarding some German prisoners. This black soldier said with a smile to a visitor who approached to see the Boches: "I sup-

pose you have come to see the savages, is it not so?" There was in this irony which the artist placed in the black man's mouth an infinitude of truth.

Accustomed to Hot Climate.

There is one difficulty which presents itself in connection with colored French troops—a difficulty which results from the climate. The blacks of Senegal are accustomed to a very hot climate and stand our winners very badly, so the French Command, anxious to conserve their health, sends them during the winter to the camps in the south of France, or to Algeria. This inconvenience, however, is only relative; for the black soldiers perfect their instructions in the southern camp and in spring once more take their place in combat beside the white soldiers.

To sum up, it may be said that contrary to the opinion so often stated in times of peace by the adversaries of the colonial expansion necessary to every modern state, the French colonies, far from enfeebling the military effort of the metropolis in face of the common enemy, have on the contrary augmented that power. Not a single territory which we occupied in Africa or in Asia has been abandoned. No serious revolt by German agents. All those colonies have given up volunteers—Arabs, Kabyles, Moroccans, Tunisians, by hundreds of thousands, Senegalese, Madagascans, Somalis and even Indo-Chinese, have come to fight on French soil in order to defend the liberty of which they have learned under our aegis to appreciate all the benefits.

The fact that certain countries like Morocco, not yet pacified, furnish us with soldiers taken from the faithful tribes, and tribes that we ourselves fought only yesterday—is one of the most extraordinary illustrations that could be cited.

All this honors those men who are in charge of the organization of these colonies and the methods which they apply there. It shows equally what prodigious faculty of assimilation the French possess. If one considers that in North Africa the Mohammedan group has been essentially refractory to all foreign intervention, the voluntary participation of colored men in the defense of French soil consecrates definitely the motivating principles of our expansion.

It is wholly apart from every question of national interest, and solely from the point of view of humanity and morals that the role played by France outside of France itself receives its noblest justification.

Four African Heroes

Win Victoria Cross

The Birmingham
LONDON, Oct. 4.—(By Mail)—Thrill-

ling stories of bravery are tersely told in the official announcement that King George has bestowed the much-coveted Victoria Cross upon five West African soldiers.

Proud of the uniform they wear, the Negro soldiers of the West African Frontier Force have displayed extreme bravery, enterprise and initiative. The Distinguished Conduct Medal has just been awarded to a number of them for performances in the face of the enemy of which the following are typical:

Sergeant Malemu—He displayed great gallantry under fire when his platoon, forming the advance guard to a convoy of ammunition which was being sent through a column, was ambushed by the enemy. The three British officers were all wounded. Sergeant Malemu took charge at once, got his men in suitable formation and replied to the enemy's fire. Through his action the surprise of the enemy's ambush was quickly counteracted and the enemy was driven off. Sergeant Malemu afterwards helped to revive a wounded British officer under fire.

Gunner Modi, artillery, Nigeria Regiment, behaved with the greatest bravery, working at his gun under heavy fire until the remainder of the gun team were either killed or wounded. Though wounded, he assisted in attempts to remove the breech block when that had been put temporarily out of action. Again, when the infantry on the left of the gun had retired, he made two more attempts to remove the block, and finally damaged it so as to render it useless. He only left the gun when ordered to do so, despite the heavy fire and the close proximity of the enemy, who were within twenty-five yards of the gun.

Sergeant Yessufu Mamprusi, Gold Coast Regiment, displayed conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty. Although his officer was killed, and he himself wounded, he remained with and directed his men. While doing so he was wounded twice more.

Private Demball Kowbali, Gambia Company, when his section officer had been wounded and his section sergeant killed, took command of the section and fought them until all ammunition was expended, when he withdrew them under very heavy fire in perfect order.

Company Sergeant Major Sumana, who had won the Distinguished Conduct Medal, and to it a clasp is added now.

When his company commander was hit and the company had retired, assisted to get the officer on to his orderly's back and followed behind protecting him from the enemy's fire with his body. He was himself badly wounded while doing so. This non-commissioned officer's conduct has al-

ways been deserving of the highest praise, and has been marked by courage of a very high order.

NEGROES TO PRESENT WAR AIMS TO ALLIES

America, Africa and West Indies Will Be Represented in Open

Convention To-Night.

N. Y. C. WORLD
NOVEMBER 10, 1918

The war aims of the negroes of the world will be formulated at an open convention of negroes of America, Africa and the West Indies, to be held at the Palace Casino, 135th Street and Madison Avenue, at 8.30 to-night. These aims will be formulated and read to the convention, and if adopted they will be cabled to the capitals of the Allies.

The convention is held under the auspices of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, the Jamaica division of which came out in support of the Allied cause four years ago. This declaration of support made in September, 1914, was acknowledged by the Allied press at the time.

Prominent representatives of the negro race feel that a recapitulation of war aims is indispensable, now that the whole complexion of the war has changed.

The official bulletin reads: "To-day the association in America, representing the sentiment of the New American, African and West Indian negroes, who are shedding their blood so splendidly in the war to put down Kaiserism, will fall in line with all races who are endeavoring to protect their interests in the new world democracy before the war comes to the close."

The names of the speakers have not been announced, but it is understood that prominent negro and white speakers will address the convention.

British Seek Missionaries for African Colony Work

Yonkers, N. Y., Nov. 10.—Hundreds of students in Methodist theological seminaries throughout the United States were invited by J. N. Ruffin (who is a member of the London Chamber of Commerce, to volunteer as missionaries for the Christianization of the Hottentots and Herreros and other black tribes in former German colonies in southwest Africa.

Mr. Ruffin intimated the British government stood ready to finance educated Americans who would go to Africa.

Bishop J. W. Anderson of Cincinnati, who introduced Mr. Ruffin, referred to the \$80,000,000 fund which the Methodists plan to raise by June 1. Part of this money is to be devoted to missions in Africa. Among others who spoke was Bishop J. C. Hartwell of Ohio.

N. Y. C. POST
JULY 17, 1918

It is true, as stated by a writer in the letter column, that the Negroes have good cause to fight against world domination by Germany. History has shown that, in Africa, Germany has treated the natives worse than any other Government which has invaded that continent.

Belgian individual cruelties in the Congo caused indignation in Belgium and compelled the Belgian Government to investigate and put a stop to them. But in Germany's treatment of the natives, extermination of whole tribes was the policy, and this policy was not only excused, but exalted as right by German publicists.

In the case of the Hereros, in Southwest Africa, General von Trotha issued this proclamation:

"The Hereros must now quit the soil. If they refuse, I shall force them with the gun. Every Herero, with or without a weapon, with or without cattle, found in German territory, I will have shot. I shall not look after the women and children, but will drive them back to their own people or shoot them."

The German pastor, Schowalter, wrote in 1907 that, as a result of this policy about 15,000 Hereros died of hunger on the desert. Almost the entire Herero tribe was destroyed.

And Dr. Rohrbach, Imperial Commissioner for Southwest Africa, reported that "the question is solved. The Hereros have lost their land; but that cannot be regarded as tragic, owing to the splendid fertility of the land, which is now fiscal."

That is to say, it paid. This is the German test.—[St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 12.]

Many Africans Aid Behind Battle Line

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 5.—One phase of the war about which comparatively little is heard, but the importance and possible effects of which it would be difficult to exaggerate, is the enormous assemblage of non-combatant labor from the semi-civilized peoples of the world to be found behind the lines on the western and other fronts. From time to time special mention is made of what this people or that people have contributed in the way of fighting men and labor to the war, and most writers of war books have alluded to the "Polyglot crowds behind the lines." It is to be suspected, however, that few people, even yet, have any just idea of the vast melting pot of races which is to be found behind the allied front, all the way from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier, to take only one instance. In this region are to be found, not in small units, but in hundreds and thousands, Chinese, Burmans, Indians, both

those from India and those from Canada and the United States, Fijians, Algerians, Moroccans, Senegalese, representatives of every race in South Africa, and so on through a long list. South Africa's contribution is particularly interesting, because among the native races at present in France are to be found representatives of all those peoples who at one time or another during the last thirty or forty years have been in arms against the British rule in South Africa. Zulus, Basutos, Matabeles, and so on, are all recorded in the history of South Africa as one-time opponents of Great Britain, and now today they are giving of their best to help the British and allied cause. They are to be seen, as Sir Herbert Sloley, a former resident commissioner in Basutoland, has said, felling trees and handling timber in the forests of the Seine very much as they chop, lop, and strip the wattle plantations in Natal. They shift cargoes in French ports and railway stations in the style they have learned in Cape Town and Durban, while their familiarity with railway construction and the blasting processes of the Johannesburg and Kimberley mines makes them valuable as quarrymen and railway workers.

N. Y. C. TIMES
NOVEMBER 11, 1918

ASK FOR GERMAN COLONIES.

Negroes Want Land Captured in Africa Turned Over to Natives.

That the captured German colonies in Africa be turned over to the natives and that educated negroes be placed in leadership there, is one of the requests that the negroes of New York as represented by the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, will make to this Government and to the Allies. These requests were contained in a resolution adopted at a meeting of 5,000 negroes in the Palace Casino in 135th Street, near Madison Avenue, yesterday.

The meeting was presided over by Marcus Garvey, head of the League and representatives of the race made speeches. The resolution set forth that it would only be through the granting to the negro his rights and the rights of all weaker peoples at the Peace Conference that future wars would be obviated. It was also asked that negroes be permitted to travel and to reside in any part of the world; that they be permitted the same educational facilities as Europeans; that all segregative and prescriptive ordinances against negroes be repealed and that they be given political, industrial and social equality.

Africa

AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS

In addition to the always inspiring word of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, the strenuous first statesman of the world, and the thrilling story by Irvin Cobb, the famous war correspondent, of the heroic part that black soldiers from Africa and America have played at vital times during the great world war, the most startling statement uttered at last Saturday evening's great rally of the War Relief Circle at Carnegie Hall was that made by Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, Emmett J. Scott, when he declared that Africa must be for the Africans. In all the peace discussions that have been proposed through the entire gamut of peace conditions which have been laid down by Allied statesmen, no man has yet had the courage and simple sense of justice to declare that the one hundred and eighty million blacks must too be considered in the equation of world democracy. Others have proposed that subject peoples everywhere should be given the right of self determination. Indeed, it has been laid down as a condition of peace that her African Colonies should not be restored to Germany. Reparation and restitution should be imposed upon Germany for her destruction of African properties. Yet amid all this welter of preachments and parleys, no man yet has evidently thought that the world could not be safe for democracy with the blacks of Africa still in serfdom and in slavery. Secretary Scott's position is not only as strong as the Rock of Gibraltar, but it is as much fraught with safety and security for the entire civilized world in the days to come as is the independence of Poland and the restoration of Belgium. Not only must the African Colonies of German East Africa be taken from Germany, but the Congo Free State cannot remain the property of Belgium for commercial exploitation any more than can South Africa be the private possession of England, and her labor compound for refractory Kaffirs. In short, if this great world war, now drawing so happily to its close, is to remain the priceless boon of civilization and the guarantor of permanent world peace, Africa must be for the Africans.

BISHOP JOHNSON BACK FROM AFRICA WITH NEWS OF MISSIONS.

BEARS LACK OF INDUSTRIAL TRAINING WILL MAKE AFRICA WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY. REPORTS MANY EVIDENCES OF THE WAR IN AFRICA.



SOUTH AFRICA I consider the greatest and most appealing part of the world," Eben S. Johnson, Bishop of Africa, now in the United States, thus states his loyalty to his field.

Some of the reports which contained the information of our African missions that were to be used in connection with the Centenary were lost in passage, so the bishop has come back to act as mouthpiece for Africa.

He has visited all of our mission stations in South Africa and has much to tell about the splendid work that is being done. In some of the sections where our missions are located the controlling governments are doing very little for the natives, except in some instances, to provide for education under the Roman Catholic Church. Upon the missionary devolves the task of bringing to these people

not only Christianity, but also modern medicine and sanitation, education, and the creation of a written language and a literature of their own.

Bishop Johnson reports that good progress is being made by our missions along these lines. "But," he continues, "we tremendously lack something in some of our missions; that is, industrial work, to keep the children with us after they have finished the regular schooling; to tide them over that period of youth, into manhood and womanhood, with a trade established. Without this training, he fears that Africa will become a white man's country."

A DREAM COME TRUE.

If you want a thing hard enough, you will get it sometime. That may sound like a new thought theory, but Bishop Johnson is a living witness of the truth of the cheering statement.

Once, as a small boy in England, he was laid up with a fractured thigh. One of his elder brothers, a member of the Wesleyan ministry, gave him a book on Livingston's work and adventures in Africa. From that day he felt the tug of Africa at his heart strings. A school master in England, then a Methodist preacher in the northwest of the United States, he still cherished a dream of sometime giving his life to Africa. Quite unexpectedly, in 1916, he was elected Bishop of Africa at the Iowa General Conference. Though well rooted in the United States, and very happy with his work, he did not hesitate to accept the opportunity to realize the dream of a lifetime. That same year he sailed for England, landing at Liverpool on Christmas Eve. Here he was delayed for six weeks, as boats had been commandeered by the government.

"I had to report to the police all the time," he says. "Of course there were a good many raids on England at that time, and many evidences of German intrigue. The people of England had their teeth set. Even then women were doing the work—loading trunks and freight. All trains had been 'decelerated.' That is the term they use in England when the government takes over a railroad, and it is very expressive of the state of affairs."

CRISS-CROSSED IN THE WAR ZONE.

On February 5, Bishop Johnson sailed on the first boat to leave England after Germany had declared her intention of destroying everything in sight in the war zone. This ship had to take the pace of the slowest boat that went out with them, and in order to avoid submarines, criss-crossed over the ocean on a route which probably never was followed before. It took them five and a half weeks to make the voyage to Cape Town, usually a seventeen day journey.

On board the ship were British troops on their way to India. They had been under fire and gas at the front, and were pretty well shot up. They were going to relieve an Indian garrison which, in turn, was to take its place in France.

FREIGHT CONGESTION IN AFRICA.

Landed in Africa, Bishop still saw evidences of the war. Everywhere markets were congested with freight, long held up for shipment. Tons of copper, for which the world is crying are lying idle there. At Elizabethville he witnessed the return from Tabora the native regiment which had been fighting the German East Africa campaign. The blacks, who were under Belgium officers, impressed him as being well disciplined men.—The Centenary Bulletin.

LIBERIA'S CASE IN

EQUITY PRESENTED

(Special to The New York Post)

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—Dr. N. H. B. Cassell, a noted scholar of Liberia who is visiting America for the purpose of creating sentiment in favor of the return to Liberia of certain late slaves from her by England and other European countries, delivered two ringing appeals to the people of New England at St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church on Sunday, Dec. 8.

At the close of the evening service the vestry, under the leadership of the rector, the Rev. Walter D. McClane, gave a memorable banquet in his honor. Covers were laid for 45 guests and timely addresses were delivered by representative citizens. The Rev. Mr. McClane, who presided, first introduced Warden John S. Brown, who welcomed the guests. After an eloquent and scholarly presentation of Liberia's case in equity against the Allies, replies were made by the following: Dr. Solomon W. Fuller of the Westboro State Hospital, William Monroe Trotter of the Boston Guardian, ex-Assistant Attorney General William H. Lewis, Clerk of the Boston Juvenile Court Charles W. M. Williams, former Assistant Corporation Counsel Lucius S. Hicks, Dr. J. A. Braithwaite, George W. Forbes of the West End Branch, Boston Public Library; Counsellor John W. Schenck, W. H. Des Verney, former Alderman Clement G. Morgan and Mr. Smith P. Clark. The community and the race is greatly indebted to the Rev. McClane, Treasurer W. A. B. Matthews and George W. Lindsay, the caterer, for much of the enjoyment of this occasion.

Liberia Seeks Voice

At the Peace Parley

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 5.—Liberia expects a voice in the peace conference at the conclusion of the war and will stand for the right of self-determination for Africa. This is the assertion of Bishop Alexander P. Camphor, head of the Methodist Episcopal church in Liberia, who stands high in the counsels of the Negro republic.

Bishop Camphor stated that, due largely to the educational activity of the Methodist Episcopal church, the percentage of literacy is higher among the Colored American colonists in Liberia than among Negroes living in the United States. When Methodism celebrates the hundredth anniversary of its first mission next year the church schools of the African republic will receive a large centenary gift.

African Colonies Should Never Be Restored To German Domination

South Western Christian Advocate
AT a monster patriotic meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York City, November 4, under the auspices of the Circle of Negro War Relief, the principal speaker was Irvin S. Cobb, the famous war correspondent, who has recently returned from the French front, where he was a witness to some of the most important battles of the present conflict of the Allies against Germany. Mr. Cobb's theme was "The Negro Soldier," and his remarks were of especial interest because of his intimate contact with the colored American warriors during their trying "baptisms or fire." Harrison Rhodes, well known as a magazine writer, and whose stories of the activities of the activities of the Negroes in the war have attracted international attention, presided over the Carnegie Hall meeting.

Prominent among other speakers who were heard on this occasion was the Hon. Emmett J. Scott.

Dr. Scott prefaced his address with the declaration that "this is the people's war—not a white man's war, not a black man's war, but a war of all the people under the Stars and Stripes for the preservation of human liberty throughout the world." In this conflict for liberty and world-wide democracy, Dr. Scott said, "The Negro is proving to be a notable and inspiring figure." He warned his people not to be deceived by unofficial statements or expressions that peace is near, declaring that an enduring peace will never come until the enemy is decisively beaten, and pledging the continuance of the loyal black battlers in the forefront of strife to the very finish—until an honorable peace has been enforced or obtained.

NEARLY 400,000 COLORED AMERICANS UNDER ARMS

Dr. Scott noted that there are now overseas "at grips with the master infancy of the civilized world or awaiting the call to active combat," nearly 400,000 gallant black soldiers, the "fruit and flower of the Negro race." These, he said, represent a response of more than 50 per cent of the total number of Negroes registered in the draft, and a larger proportionate number than has been true of other racial groups registered under the first draft. "And this number," added Dr. Scott, "takes no account of the sturdy, upstanding men of my race who are members of the four 'crack' regiments of the Regular Army, nor of the 12,000 brawny men who came into service through the

National Guard organizations, such as the 'Fighting Fifteenth' of New York, which has, along with others, won imperishable fame on the battle field in France." He pointed with pride to the fact that while the Negro represented only 8 per cent of the first draft registration, the race has actually contributed 15 per cent to the number called to the colors under said draft. He noted, also, that in every 100 in the first draft examined for service, proximately 36 per cent of the Negroes were accepted, while only 24 per cent of the white were accepted, a difference of 12 per cent in the Negroes' favor for physical quality. This, he contended, dissipates the ancient yarn about the black race being a deteriorating or decadent people. Relatively, fewer colored men claimed exemption from military service than did the whites.

Dr. Scott further declared that the war, "grim-visaged and ruthless as it is," has served or afforded the Negroes an opportunity once more to prove their unbounded, unfaltering loyalty—their 100 per cent Americanism—and to demonstrate their immunity from insidious German propaganda. The war has made for the advancement of the material welfare of the race. Prior to the present conflict the Negro had less than a dozen commissioned officers; now he has more than 1,200, all highly-qualified and forward-looking men. From an army of but four regiments, with only infantry and cavalry, the race has now its 400,000 men represented in every conceivable branch of the service, and the reports from officers, from General Pershing down, indicate that these men are giving an excellent account of themselves.

TO FORMULATE PEACE AIMS.

N.Y. & POST
 NOVEMBER 7, 1918
 Negroes of U. S., Africa, and West Indies Plan Meeting Here.

Representative negroes of America, Africa, and the West Indies will meet in the Palace Casino, 135th Street and Madison Avenue, on Sunday evening, November 10, at 8:30 o'clock, where the peace aims of the race will be formulated for submission to the Allied Governments.

The meeting is to be held under the auspices of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and Africa Communities League, and the peace programme will be submitted in behalf of that organization. The League is the only association of its kind recognized by the Allied Governments, according to its officers, and shortly after the outbreak of the war it volunteered its support and cooperation to the nations allied against Germany.

GERMANS ARE NOW OBJECTING TO BLACK AMERICANS AND WELL THEY MAY

Daily Herald
 This Speaks The New York Telegraph of July 23.

The German War Office is said to be exceedingly indignant over the employment of "black Americans" in the battle line. These black Americans are American citizens, who, now a product of the ideal system of intensive training developed in this country, are second to no fighting men on earth, and unlike the "white Hun," they fight clean. Nobody has heard of them 'crucifying captives, they do not attack women and they would not, if turned loose in an enemy city, slaughter innocent children. "But, boy," as the wife of one of them is quoted as saying, "they can go some." The "black," American at home is a civilized individual, he attends public school in his youth and in his adult age turns his attention to various pursuits, the same as any of his Caucasian neighbor. The two races do not commingle socially to any great extent because neither desires it. Even so, the Negro is less "clanish" than many settlements of German-born residents.

The outcry from Berlin is a compliment to the Negro. The Hun has met him on the battlefield and has verified the proud boast of Mrs. Henry Johnson, of Albany, N. Y., U. S. A., whose husband, in "going some," found himself finally in front of a French commander who decorated him with the Cross of War.

FIRST NATIVE COLLEGE OPENED IN SOUTH AFRICA

for 20-18

In augury of better things for the natives of the British possessions in South Africa was promised in the opening of the first South African Native College, by the Premier of the South African Union, Gen. Louis Botha, the former noted leader of the Boers. The ceremonies are fully described in the South African *Native Opinion*, from which the following is taken:

every nationality, had gathered on the historic site of the College, Fort Hare, near Alice. The Premier, who is also Minister of Native Affairs, was accompanied by the Hon. Sir Thos. Watt, M.P., Minister of Public Works, and by Mr. E. Dower, Secretary for Native Affairs, and his private secretary, Mr. Rehner. M.A., N.B., who also acted as his interpreter as he spoke in Dutch, the other official language.

Fort Hare, the site of the new College, is admirably situated on high ground overlooking the town and the country for miles around. Here a large number of natives, including chiefs from different parts of the country, such as Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, etc., had already assembled. The chair was taken by the Rev. Jas. Henderson, M.A., the chairman of the Governing Council of the new College, and the speakers besides the premier included various officials and representatives of the natives. Rev. A. Kerr is principal of the college.

GEN. BOTHA'S MESSAGE.

General Botha is the leading figure in the government of the Union of South Africa. The former Boer leader has become the premier or first minister of the British Government of South Africa and his official utterances are full of significance. His message to the striking natives of Johannesburg is therefore entitled to more than local importance as an evidence of a more liberal policy to be adopted in dealing with native grievances.

The South African *Native Opinion*, which strongly defends native interests, commends the manifesto as "a sympathetic and statesmanlike document." It says further:

It laudably refers to the admirable attitude of our people during these times of strain and stress, and urges the attitude not to be abandoned. To show the sympathy of the government the release of the strike prisoners is cited and the grounds thereof.

But the most significant part of the document in question is the concluding paragraph, in which General Botha says:

Apart from the municipal native strike, I learn that there are other grievances which are exercising the minds of the natives on the Rand. I wish, therefore, to intimate that I am prepared personally to meet at an early date the representative leaders of the natives, and hear from them direct what these grievances are.

This recognition that the natives have grievances that merit investi-

gation is a concession that should be productive of needed reforms in the administration of native affairs. The attitude of the premier is full of promise and is one more change to be credited to the world's war.

Africa TRIBUTE TO BLACK TROOPS OF FRANCE

Men of Western Africa Respond in
Enthusiastic Manner to Call
of Arms in France and
Prove Themselves
to Be Real
Heroes

Paris, Aug. 2.—The black troops of France have lately attracted public attention on account of the official recruiting mission which, under the direction of M. Blaise Diagne, black deputy of Senegal, is actually traveling through French West Africa with a view to intensifying voluntary enlistment among the different races that people those vast territories. The result of the mission is not yet known, as M. Blaise Diagne, accompanied by his staff, which is composed of the sons of many of the leading chieftains of Senegal and adjacent countries, only reached Senegal a few weeks ago. However, some people, while deeming the choice of M. Diagne as head of the mission as an extremely happy one, fear that as he is very much Europeanized, and only knows Senegal, he will not be "black enough," if one may so express it, to win the confidence of the more primitive natives. And the same persons are inclined to believe that the recruiting would have been much more efficacious had it been entrusted to different black chieftains, who would have acted each in his own country, preaching a sort of crusade with the co-operation of the French administration.

Nevertheless, whatever be the result of M. Diagne's mission, the black troops deserve a special mention for their own sakes. Their splendid heroism, intrepidity and abnegation have revealed them the worthy brethren in arms of the French poilus, who have won the admiration of the world on the different fronts. Yet these black troops are of relatively recent formation, the first recruiting mission, composed of Lieutenant Colonel (now General) Mangin and four French officers having been appointed after the vote of the budget of 1910. The mission left Bordeaux in May, 1910, and returned to France in November of the same year, after having visited all French West Africa. General Mangin, who had left France with the idea of raising the 5,000 "volontaires" which the most optimistic protagonists of black recruits believed obtainable, soon realized that the immense possibilities of the African reservoir had been miscalculated and that, were it necessary, he could easily raise some 40,000 recruits yearly.

The enthusiasm with which the men of Western Africa answered the French

call to arms is attributed to the fact that of all the forms of service which the French government has required of the African, there is one—almost unique—which he has never refused to accomplish, and where the supply has surpassed the demand, viz., that of military service. The best proof of this is seen in the rapidity with which Senegalese regiments are formed, a few days sufficing for their entire completion.

This willingness to comply with France's military exigencies, and the cheerfulness with which the populations of French West Africa adopt the "career" is a fact of no small importance. French domination has introduced but few new occupations into the civil life of the native—and what tasks could France offer to those peasants uniquely occupied with their fields and flocks, and who completely ignore the law of exchange? The military career, on the other hand, seems to satisfy a particular craving; and, therefore, although laborers are often more highly remunerated than the "tirailleur," military recruits are innumerable, while workmen and field hands are excessively rare.

A striking example of the enthusiasm with which the populations respond to France's call is furnished by the following fact: At Tivanou, during General Mangin's tour, long lists were filled with the names of those who wished to enlist as "tirailleurs." The son of Lat Dior, a chief who for twenty years fought against France and fell while bravely resisting the Spahis, made the following declaration to General Mangin amidst universal approbation: "I claim the honor of fighting for the defense of our common fatherland. Should this honor be denied me, I prefer to enlist as a simple tirailleur rather than remain here as chief of my tribe." At Kaolack General Mangin made a speech asking for voluntary recruits for the French troupes noires, and the Bour Sine—the King of Sine—replied in the following terms:

"We have long been awaiting words such as those you have just uttered. We know only war. Look at our arms. Are they arms of laborers? You say you will reserve the foremost places for those among us who have already been warriors. You are quite right. Fighting has always been our tradition. The land belongs to him who is capable of taking and defending it." At a gesture of the chieftain, 300 runners rushed forward. "See these men," said Bour Sine proudly. "There is not one among them whose family has not fallen in war. We will give you all the Gelaouar (military autocracy) who remain."

These examples of the striking similarity of sentiment obtaining among the natives of all parts of French West Africa, be they Senegalese, Toucouleurs or Monis, prove that the creation of the troupes noires is good policy in dealing with the natives, perhaps the only successful one. The recruiting, theoretically compulsory since the decree of Feb. 7, 1912, is in reality a sort of compromise between compulsory and voluntary service, and is carried on by means of propaganda, special advantages, such as exemption from taxation, and so forth, being granted to the tirailleurs as recruiting became more and more actively developed.

Transcripted into the French ranks the black soldier brings with him all

his native strength and courage, no doubt the most indispensable qualities of a soldier. In France, in spite of an intensive centralization and of the ever greater development in the modern means of communication, the young military recruits have not lost all trace of their native provinces when they reach the barracks. The commander who studies his men carefully sees how he can bring out what is best in each of them. He also knows that a regiment composed entirely of Bretons cannot be led in the same manner as a division composed of Meridionaux, and he will be careful to regulate his demands on them according to his knowledge of the temperament of the men placed under his command.

The black has transformed his conception of the service into a religion, the strongest of all religions—to which he abandons himself with absolute confidence—with such good faith that one hesitates to apply the term mercenary to the men of the splendid Troupes Noires of France. This religion has its rule, discipline; its priest, the chief, who embodies in the eyes of the black all the idea of fatherland that he has grasped in his present stage of development. The prestige of the service comes before everything, even before that family spirit which is the very foundation of the social life of the black. For the sake of the service he will unhesitatingly fight against the Arab—the Muhammadans will even rise against Marabouts. "Ca y a Service!" they will answer, and service signifies to them the "order given by somebody after whom ones does not speak."

The war has revealed to the black a new world. It will certainly have a considerable repercussion on the black populations, as it will further disintegrate the "family," thus giving the tirailleur an even greater taste of individualism, with all its multiple consequences. He will no doubt have acquired the qualities of civilization, while his spirit of initiative and of adventure will have been greatly developed. Last but not least, he will have formed a conception of state, of the power of Europe, and of the means of which it disposes which may well change his entire outlook.

The black forces which have been fighting for France in the present war number some 120,000 men. They have shown the most indomitable courage, returning to the charge in a manner which has won for them the admiration of all. At Dixmude, a battalion advanced from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m. under a hail of shells and bullets. At the end of the day there remained only 350 tirailleurs out of a battalion of 800 men, and four officers out of thirteen.

Many are the black heroes who, in this war, have won the eternal gratitude of France. Among them should be cited Abd-El-Kader Mademba, son of the Fama (king) Sansanding, who, during the French conquest of the Soudan, was one of the most devoted and faithful friends of France. This young man, a lieutenant of the Eighth battalion of Senegalese troops, and who has won the croix de guerre, is one of the recruiting officers who have accompanied M. Blaise Diagne on his mission. Prince Konde, son of Behanzin, the descendant of twelve kings, had demanded that he should be allowed to take up service for France, after his kingdom had been placed under the French protectorate. He had even won a pension as a junior officer in the French army. When the present war broke out he obtained permission to re-enter the service, and was sent

to the Dardanelles, where he fell in the course of a fierce assault, by the side of his comrade, Adjutant Toure, who was also the son of one of the most celebrated enemies of France, the Alamy Sambat Toure—"The Black Napoleon."

If Germany based any hopes on the disloyalty of the black populations under French domination, she must realize now the full extent of her mistake. For, from the Arabs to the humblest blacks of the most remote tribes, all have unhesitatingly proved their allegiance to France, by sharing with all the other armies of Europe the vicissitudes, dangers and glory of fighting for a good cause.

FIGHTING OVER AFRICA
The Savannah Tribune
There is certainly a very great deal of truth in the claim that the real cause of the great war lies in the greed of the principal nations involved over south African territory. All the larger powers have been busy at colonizing, partitioning and dismembering the vast areas of the dark continent. There has been no little conflict and jealousy in the scramble which England, France, Germany, Belgium and Portugal have been having during the past several decades. These facts as a basis of sore misunderstanding and hence a cause for war have been very skillfully brought out by the matchless DuBois (Atlantic, May, 1915) in his "The African Roots of War," and one has but to study his careful array of facts to become convinced that it is in Africa, rather than in the Balkans, that these nations find their source of discord.

From the standpoints of population and development of material resources, England, France and Germany, at least, are very near full expansion and development. Each needs more room for its growing population; each needs a wider field for the exercise of its exploitive and constructive genius. Little more can be done within their own borders. Each has little remaining basis for increase in population and increased activity. They naturally turn to foreign and less developed regions.

Africa, fabulously rich in diamonds, rubber and gold; its forests and its fields virgin and untouched, offered rich and easy prey. They all waded in, scrambling and grabbing and subsidizing, England taking the lead. There has been no end of the conflict and dispute between them in their merry scramble. It has been a sore and embittered and jealous rivalry and competition their, and yet nations must expand and continue to grow or they will overrun their home territory and become decadent, commercially and,

perhaps, morally. Germany made open boast of it, while England and Belgium, with earlier starts, have well demonstrated what their purposes are.

This greed for territorial expansion has found expression in the great interest which all these powers have taken in colonization. Africa has been pretty nearly all gobbled up. Only Abyssinnia remains the inviolate possession of the natives, the Congo Free State being a fiction only. The natives have been exploited in every conceivable way. There has been all manner of slavery and peonage, and these are mild expressions of the outrages which some of these Europeans, notably the Belgians under Leopold, have imposed. Every one of these nations has so grossly mistreated the native African, that one cannot accuse the other. Millions in ores and rubber, alone have been carted on the heads and backs of Negroes from the interior or back country to the seashores hundreds of miles away.

Peace out of the present great struggle will be a hard puzzle in view of the conflict and entanglements of those nations in Africa, and there can be no satisfactory basis of peace even when one side or the other is beaten to its knees. The several aspirations of these nations in Africa will furnish a bone of contention for ages to come, and disarmament talk will be folly.

Africa has been literally mangled and torn to pieces by the leading nations of Europe, and we wonder if "Africa for the Africans" will ever be more than a dream.

TRIBUTE TO BLACK TROOPS OF FRANCE

Italian Science
Men of Western Africa Respond
Enthusiastically to French
Call to Arms—Forces in Present War Number 120,000

By special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

PARIS, France.—The black troops of France have lately attracted public attention on account of the official recruiting mission which, under the direction of M. Blaise Diagne, black deputy of Senegal, is actually traveling through French West Africa with a view to intensifying voluntary enlistment amongst the different races that people those vast territories. The result of the mission is not yet known

as M. Blaise Diagne, accompanied by his staff, which is composed of the sons of many of the leading chieftains of Senegal and of adjacent countries only reached Senegal a few weeks ago. However, some people, whilst deeming the choice of M. Diagne as head of the mission an extremely happy one—fear that as he is very much Europeanized, and only knows Senegal, he will not be "black enough," if one may so express it, to win the confidence of the more primitive natives. And the same persons are inclined to believe that the recruiting would have been much more efficacious had it been intrusted to different black chieftains who would have acted each in his own country, preaching a sort of crusade with the cooperation of the French Administration.

Nevertheless, whatever be the result of M. Diagne's mission, the black troops deserve a special mention for their own sakes. Their splendid heroism, intrepidity, and abnegation have revealed them the worthy brethren in arms of the French Poilus who have won the admiration of the world on the different battlefields of the great war. Yet these black troops are of relatively recent formation, the first recruiting mission composed of Lieutenant-Colonel—now General—Mangin and four French officers having been appointed after the vote of the budget of 1910. The mission left Bordeaux in May, 1910, and returned to France in November of the same year, after having visited all French West Africa. General Mangin who had left France with the idea of raising the five thousand "volontaires" which the most optimistic protagonists of black recruits believed obtainable, soon realized that the immense possibilities of the African reservoir had been miscalculated and that, were it necessary, he could easily raise some forty thousand recruits yearly.

The enthusiasm with which the men of Western Africa answered the French call to arms is attributed to the fact that of all the forms of service which the French Government has required of the African, there is one—almost unique—which he has never refused to accomplish, and where the supply has even surpassed the demand, viz., that of military service. The best proof of this is seen in the rapidity with which Senegalese regiments are formed, a few days sufficing for their entire completion.

This willingness to comply with France's military exigencies, and the cheerfulness with which the populations of French West Africa adopt the "career," is a fact of no small importance. French domination has introduced but few new occupations into the civil life of the native—and what tasks could France offer to those peasants uniquely occupied with their fields and flocks, and who completely ignore the law of exchange? The military career, on the other hand, seems to satisfy a particular craving; and therefore, although

laborers are often more highly remunerated than the "tirailleur," military recruits are innumerable, whilst workmen and field hands are excessively rare.

A striking example of the enthusiasm with which the populations respond to France's call is furnished by the following fact: At Tivanouan, during General Mangin's tour, long lists were filled with the names of those who wished to enlist as "tirailleurs." The son of Lat Dior, a chief who for 20 years fought against France and fell whilst bravely resisting the Spahis, made the following declaration to General Mangin amidst universal approbation: "I claim the honor of fighting for the defense of our common fatherland. Should this honor be denied me, I prefer to enlist as a simple tirailleur rather than remain here as chief of my tribe." At Kaolak, General Mangin made a speech asking for voluntary recruits for the French troupes noires, and the Bour Sine—the King of Sine—replied in the following terms:

"We have long been awaiting words such as those you have just uttered. We know only war! Look at our arms. Are they the arms of laborers? You say you will reserve the foremost places for those amongst us who have already been warriors. You are quite right. Fighting has always been our tradition. The land belongs to him who is capable of taking and defending it." At a gesture of the chieftain, 300 runners rushed forward. "See these men," said Bour Sine proudly. "There is not one amongst them whose family has not fallen in war. We will give you all the Gelaouar (military autocracy) who remain."

These examples of the striking similarity of sentiment obtaining amongst the natives of all parts of French West Africa, be they Senegalese, Toucouleurs or Monis, prove that the creation of the troupes noires is good policy in dealing with the natives, perhaps the only successful one.

The recruiting, theoretically compulsory since the decree of Feb. 7, 1912, is in reality a sort of compromise between compulsory and voluntary service, and is carried on by means of propaganda, special advantages, such as exemption from taxation and so forth, being granted to the tirailleurs as recruiting became more and more actively developed.

Transported into the French ranks, the black soldier brings with him all his native strength and courage, no doubt the most indispensable qualities for a soldier. In France, in spite of an intensive centralization and of the ever greater development in the modern means of communication, the young military recruits have not lost all trace of their native provinces when they reach the barracks. The commander who studies his men carefully sees how he can bring out what is best in each of them. He also

knows that a regiment composed entirely of Bretons cannot be led in the same manner as a division composed of Méridionaux, and he will be careful to regulate his demands on them according to his knowledge of the temperament of the men placed under his command.

The black has transformed his conception of the service into a religion, the strongest of all religions—to which he abandons himself with absolute confidence—with such good faith that one hesitates to apply the term mercenary to the men of the splendid Troupes Noires of France. This religion has its rule: discipline; its priest: the chief, who embodies in the eyes of the black all the idea of fatherland that he has grasped in his present stage of development. The prestige of the service comes before everything, even before that family spirit which is the very foundation of the social life of the black. For the sake of the service, he will unhesitatingly fight against the Arab—the Muhammadans will even rise against Marabouts. "Ça y a Service!" they will answer, and service signifies to them the "order given by somebody after whom one does not speak!"

The war has revealed to the black a new world. It will certainly have a considerable repercussion on the black populations, as it will still further disintegrate the "family," thus giving the tirailleur an ever greater taste of individualism with all its multiple consequences. He will no doubt have acquired the qualities of civilization, whilst his spirit of initiative and of adventure will have been greatly developed. Last but not least, he will have formed a conception of State, of the power of Europe, and of the means of which it disposes which may well change his entire outlook.

The Black Forces which have been fighting for France in the present war number some 120,000 men. They have shown the most indomitable courage, returning to the charge in a manner which has won for them the admiration of all. At Dixmude, a battalion advanced from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m. under a hail of shells and bullets. At the end of the day there remained only 350 tirailleurs out of a battalion of 800 men, and four officers out of 13!

Many are the black heroes who, in this war, have won the eternal gratitude of France. Amongst them are the sons of chiefs whose names are still famous in connection with the French colonial war. Amongst them should be cited Abd-El-Kader Mademba, son of the Fama (king) Sanding, who, during the French conquest of the Soudan, was one of the most devoted and faithful friends of France. This young man, a lieutenant of the eighth battalion of Senegalese troops and who has won the croix de guerre, is one of the recruiting officers who have accompanied M. Blaise Diagne on his mission to Prince Kondo, son of Behanzin, the

descendant of 12 kings, had demanded that he should be allowed to take up service for France, after his kingdom had been placed under the French Protectorate. He had even won a pension as a junior officer in the French Army. When the present war broke out he obtained permission to reenter the service, and was sent to the Dardanelles, where he fell in the course of a fierce assault, by the side of his comrade, Adjutant Touré, who was also the son of one of the most celebrated enemies of France, the Almamy Sambat Touré—"The Black Napoleon."

If Germany based any hopes on the disloyalty of the black populations under French domination, she must realize now the full extent of her mistake. For, from the Arabs to the humblest blacks of the most remote tribes, all have unhesitatingly proved their allegiance to France, by sharing with all the other armies of the Entente the vicissitudes, dangers and glory of fighting for a good cause.

AFRICANS IN THE WAR.

The employment of a contingent of natives from South Africa as laborers for the British Army in France is pronounced a success by a British army captain in a report published in the South African *Native Opinion* of King Williams-town.

The actual work in which these forces have been engaged has been unloading ships in French harbors, loading and unloading trains with shells and ammunition, repairing and constructing roads and railways, sawing the loading trees, building hangars, quarry work, etc. All this has been done in France at the base or on communication lines, away from the firing line. The value and quality of the work performed is pronounced excellent by the officers in charge.

The natives have been housed in "closed compounds," huts or tents surrounded by a fence. The report naively refers to this species of imprisonment as "constituting an apparent hardship," giving rise to a certain amount of discontent, but that it proved a valuable protection for the natives themselves. In these compounds were located "dry" canteens and cricket, football and other games were encouraged.

It is claimed that the rate of sickness has been considerably lower than was expected, usually lower than that of other troops at the base. Two hospitals have been specially built in different parts of France for this contingent, but neither has ever been even half full. All patients found unfit for further service have been sent back to South Africa, so it is reported. The factors that have contributed to the general good health of the contingent are set down as suitable clothing, sanitary quarters and good and sufficient food.

The educational value of this experiment to the native is enumerated as follows: His mental horizon enlarged by travel and seeing other people and customs; a year spent under army discipline without liquor; wearing decent clothes and acquiring habits of neatness and cleanliness; witnessing French agricultural methods. The conclusion of the report is that "the whole contingent ought to return to South Africa better and wiser men, and more useful to the State in every way."

We believe that the results of this experiment will be more far-reaching than this. The knowledge and experience gained by these South African pioneers may prove a leaven among their fellows and inspire them to gain that share of true democracy that the world is fighting for today. The ways of Providence are mysterious and past finding out, but this war is proving the medium of mighty changes. So let it be.

Africa

"Within a month from the beginning of hostilities Africans of Gold Coast compelled the surrender of 34,000 square miles of German territory."

Colored People's Part in the World War.

The Fight in Africa--Many Square Miles Wrenched From Germany.--Black Troops Display Great Valor.

Graphic Description of the Shedding of Blood in the Dark Continent--The Use of Dum-dum or Soft-nosed Ammunition.

LETTER III.

THE TOGOLAND CAMPAIGN.

By W. F. Hutchinson.
(Copyright by J. E. Bruce.)
Special to Richmond Planet.

Of all the British possessions, the Gold Coast Colony was the first to take an active part in the war. Within a month from the start of hostilities it had carried through a campaign which compelled the surrender of 34,000 square miles of territory under the German flag.

Togoland is a wedge of territory on the Gulf of Guinea, sandwiched between the British Gold Coast Colony on the West and French Dahomey on the East. With only thirty miles of seaboard, it widens at a short distance from the sea and extends inland about three hundred and fifty miles, possessing a total area of a little less than thirty-four thousand square miles, slightly larger than Ireland. (Deleted.)

On the North it is enclosed by the French territory. The chief port, Tome, is only a few miles from the British port of Kitta and about one hundred and ten miles from Accra, the seat of the Gold Coast Government. Large sums had been expended by the Germans in developing the Colony in making the port of Tome into a depot for trade and laying down a railway of about one hundred

miles to the town of Kamina, almost due North of Tome.

They had acted with their usual cruelty towards the natives of the country, whose rights were totally disregarded, the country being treated as an appanage of the German Empire, whose resource, both commercial and human, were to be employed solely for the advantage and profit of Germany and the Germans.

Many complaints of brutal disregard of human life and human rights and of scandalous outrages of decency by Germans, officials and others, had issued from the people, but these had been unheard in Europe until German arrogance threatened Europe itself, when it was decided that Germany must be turned out of Africa.

SECRET WIRELESS STATION.

There was a special reason for turning them out of Togoland. At Kamina they had erected one of the most powerful wireless installations in the world with such secrecy that the French authorities in Dahomey were not aware of its existence. It communicated direct with Nauen, near Berlin and with the German Colonies of Cameroon and Southwest Africa, and was no doubt intended to maintain communication between Berlin and German warships and commerce-raiders operating in the Atlantic. The installation had been completed just before the outbreak

of the war and the designer, Baron Codelli, was still in the Colony and was taken prisoner by the British forces.

On the declaration of war with France, Major Von Doring, Acting Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Togoland, assuming that Great Britain would remain neutral, made preparations to seize the French possession of Dahomey, but had not committed any hostile act when Great Britain entered into the war on the fourth of August.

The German Governor by instruction from Berlin then cabled to the Acting Governor of the Gold Coast and the Governor General of French West Africa, proposing that neutrality should be observed between the European Colonies of the Gold Coast, Togoland and Dahomey, on grounds of humanity and the desirability of maintaining the prestige of the white races in presence of the black races, who might learn dangerous lessons, if allowed to take part in a campaign in which white men were opposed to each other, the bulk of the troops engaged being of necessity natives.

The proposition was not even answered by the Governor of Dahomey on the sixth of August. Major Von Doring was informed that the British Government could not entertain any such suggestion.

FRENCH FORCES AGGRESSIVE.

On the same day French forces

entered the German territory and meeting with no opposition occupied the port of Little Popo, (which the Germans called Anecho) and on the eighth, occupied the town of Togo, a few miles inland.

On the Gold Coast preparations for hostilities had started at eleven P. M. on the twenty-ninth of July, when Mr. W. C. F. Robertson, Acting Governor in the absence of Sir Hugh Clifford, received a cable from the home authorities warning him that precautions should be adopted in view of the possible existence of a state of war.

Steps were at once taken to concentrate the military force of the Colony within striking distance of Togoland and to secure the necessary supplies for the transport of the troops. At midnight on the fourth of August, information was received that war had broken out with Germany. The Chiefs were immediately informed and at once spontaneously came forward with expressions of loyalty and offers of assistance. It was indeed, as the Governor said, "A matter of some difficulty to restrain their ardor."

The Local Volunteer Forces "exhibited extraordinary enthusiasm," the application for enlistment far exceeding the requirements of the Government and the supply of arms and equipment.

UNDER FLAG OF TRUCE.

On the fifth and sixth telegraphic correspondence regarding the German proposal of neutrality above referred to, took place. On the latter day, Captain Barker of the Gold Coast Regiment was despatched under a flag of truce to inform the Governor that strong columns were about to enter the Colony from East, West and North and to demand the surrender of the German forces. A resistance was useless. A twenty-four hour armistice was granted.

When Captain Barker returned to Tome at seven P. M. on the seventh, he found that the Governor had drawn to the interior with his troops, leaving the District Commissioner with instructions and powers to surrender Tome and the Colony up to a line drawn at one hundred and twenty kilometres (seventy-four and one-half miles) from that town. The German Governor's intention was to retire up the railway to protect Kabutmina, with its precious wireless installation, which he had imperatively instructed from Berlin, four times repeated, to defend.

By the eighth of August, arrangements were completed between Mr. Robertson and Mr. M. Ch. Noufflard, this time the advance of the main Lieutenant-Governor of Dahomey, for co-operation of the British and French forces. The latter numbering four hundred and fifty Tirailleurs Senegalais, eight officers, twenty European non-commissioned officers and two mountain guns, had on the same day occupied positions in the neighborhood of Little Popo and Mono.

On the ninth of August, Mr. Robertson and Mr. William Pontz,

Governor-General of French West Africa, completed arrangements for a combined advance of the British troops of Hout Senegal and Niger on Northern Togoland and on the eleventh the British Governor was informed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Ivory Coast and Dahomey that five hundred "Auxiliary Cavalry" and fifty or sixty "Gardes Cercles" had been instructed to advance against Sansanne Mango in Northern Togo land.

THE EXPEDITION ACTIVE.

On the morning of the twelfth Captain (temporary Lieutenant Colonel) F. C. Bryant, the officer commanding the British forces, landed at Tome with fifty-seven Europeans, five hundred and thirty-five native soldiers, two 295 guns and two thousand carriers. The twelfth and thirteenth were occupied in organizing the base and on the fourteenth the forces advanced inland along the line of railway, the bridges of which had been broken down by the retreating Germans, to Togekove, where the wireless installation, which had been erected there had been destroyed.

At about three P. M. on the fifteenth, touch was made with the enemy at Lilikove, the bridge over the river Lili being blown up, as the British troops approached. The advance was delayed by the extremely difficult nature of the country and Lieutenant-Colonel Bryant found it necessary to bivouac at Ekune, the enemy having been driven back. The loss on the British side in this skirmish was one native soldier killed, and one European non-commissioned officer and two native soldiers wounded. A long train of twenty vehicles was found wrecked on the railway bridge at Ekune.

In the meantime a smart little action had been fought by the Company of the Gold Coast Regiment, under Captain Potter. At about four A. M. on the fifteenth, when the company was halted close to Ekune, a train was heard to pass down the line in the direction of Tcevie. Steps were taken to block the line near the bridge and soldiers were disposed in a position to attack the train as it approached, while the rest of the company advanced on Agbelufoe Station. Another train now approached but succeeded in escaping to the North. Agbelufoe Station was occupied and Captain Potter disposed his forces so as to intercept the enemy's retreat to the Northward.

Attacks were made by the enemy during the evening and night, but by this time the advance of the main British force was making itself felt, and they fled back to their train and surrendered to Captain Potter. The number of the enemy was reliably computed at two hundred, greatly outnumbering the British forces opposed to them.

Out of thirty Germans with this force, twenty-five were killed and captured. As a result of this action

thirty miles of railway to the North of Agbelufoe were captured intact, including the important bridge over the River Haho, seven miles North of Agbelufoe, besides the wrecked train at Ekune, two engines, one Maxim gun and a quantity of arms and ammunition.

N. Y. C. SUN

DECEMBER 2, 1918

The Black Slaves of Prussia.

There has recently been printed in pamphlet form with the title "The Black Slaves of Prussia" a letter addressed to General SMUTS by the Rev. FRANK WESTON, D. D., Bishop of Zanzibar, head of the British Universities Mission in the Eastern District of German East Africa. It is an appeal to civilized nations not to permit the restoration of German rule in that former African colony; a protest based on broad principles of humanity rather than on political or military expediency. Dr. Weston has lived in East Africa for twenty years, has been Bishop of a part of German East Africa for ten years, and served with the British force with which General SMUTS took from Germany her East African colonies. General SMUTS writes in an introduction to the letter: "It contains a very solemn plea to the conscience of the British people, backed up by an imposing array of solid facts."

As in Belgium, so in East Africa, German officials found unthinkable depths of cruelties. Of these we cannot write, although the circumstances of the publication, issued in this country by the Houghton Mifflin Company, the high office of the writer, the indorsement of General SMUTS, all lend authority which we do not question. But the details of some of the shameless cruelties related, proper in such an appeal, could not properly be printed elsewhere.

We are concerned here with the Bishop's repeated insistence that the cruelties practised by Germans upon their black slaves—for Germans made slaves of East Africans—had not even the pretence of excuse, such as that they were necessities of war or to prevent native uprisings. Bishop Weston says:

"It is a disease of the German mind. The German colonial system is cruel, relentless, inhuman, and the reason is that it is German."

He makes his appeal because he is alarmed by hints from home "that some in England and on the Continent are ready to end the war before the liberty [for Germany's African slaves] is established. If we let the Kaiser have East Africa again we shall be guilty of a monstrous betrayal of

thousands who have trusted us and followed us to the war."

Turning from his tales of inhumanities and his insistence that Germans are cruel "because they are Germans," the Bishop takes up an instance of German propaganda in which he seems to find a bit of grim humor for his fellow Britons. "My teachers in the Lindt district," he writes, "were officially informed early in the war that Germans ruled England, that Scotland was in Austrian hands, and Ireland? Well! Ireland had been given to the—Turks!"

If, as the Bishop was informed, there were those in England who "for the sake of quiet lives" were willing that German East Africa should be restored to Hun rule, this appeal, we are disposed to believe, will bring to some of them a change of heart and mind.

African Negroes Are Best Bomb Throwers

N. Y. C. MAIL

MARCH 22, 1918

Excellent as the American soldiers are at "bombing," thanks to their baseball training, they are in proportion to their numbers excelled, it is claimed, by the African negroes in the British and French armies. These negroes, fresh from their savage haunts and but newly arrayed in the steel helmets and modern habiliments of war, possess marvelous throwing ability, the result of years of practice and centuries of heredity in knocking down their meals from cocoanut trees with stones.

They can "shy" pebbles with unerring aim into the top of a cocoanut tree and bring a nut down for supper. When given hand grenades it was found that they could place the destructive little affairs into the Hun trenches without the frequent misses which white troops made.

Practically all colored troops from the tropics are past masters in this bombing work, says the Chicago "Herald." The most noted of them perhaps is Corporal G. Roberts from Trinidad, who is attached, with a few of his brethren, to a Middlesex regiment. He is the champion bomber of his battalion, and at seventy-four yards is a dead shot, having been decorated twice by the British war office for single-handed feats of daring and extremely thorough execution of Huns defending trenches and pill boxes against the Tommies' advance.

COLUMBUS O JOURNAL

MAY 21, 1918

NEGRO SOLDIER IS PRAISED

Sir George Adams Smith Quote: Haig's Laudation.

Five colored preachers asserted before the Presbyterian general assembly last night that the negro race is as loyal to the American flag, as anxious to fight for the democracy of the world as any white race, and promised for it an active part in beating Hindenburg in the dust and tying the kaiser to the wheels of the triumphant chariot of democracy.

which eventually will find its way up Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin.

Sir George Adams Smith, vice chancellor of the University of Aberdeen, who heard the protestations of the colored men, then was introduced.

He said he could do better than make promises for the colored soldier because he had seen him both in British and French uniforms at the front.

"General Haig told me that his West Indies regiment of black men marches as stoutly and fights as bravely as any regiment of Britishers," declared Sir George. "The French soldiers told me the same thing about their negroes from Africa. The French trust their black colonials as resolutely as they do their own white soldiers."

The colored speakers were: Dr. H. L. McCrorey, president of Biddle University; Rev. Dr. W. E. Kennedy, Louisville; Rev. H. C. Miller, Newbern, N. C.; Rev. Dr. S. C. Mebane, Hot Springs, Ark., and Rev. Dr. J. W. Lee, Philadelphia. Loyalty in the war was the theme of each.

Rev. Mr. Miller said 20,000 American negroes now are in France. He declared it was a colored regiment that "snatched" Roosevelt from the jaws of death" at San Juan Hill.

REAL GRIT KEEPS NEGRO AT FRONT.

in Nashville, Tenn.
4/10/18
American Pugilist in French Army Has Finger "Chopped" Off So He Can Rejoin Legion.

Paris, Feb. 28.—After having been taken out of the trenches because of his stiff index finger, and fearing that he would be invalided out of the war entirely, "Bob" Scanlon, the American Negro prize fighter, who has been in the French Foreign Legion for nearly three years, recently went to London and ordered the surgeon of a military hospital there to "chop" his finger off.

The surgeon demurred. "Chop it off," demanded Scanlon. Then, seeing the doubtful look in the surgeon's eyes, Scanlon added quickly:

"Oh, I'm no slacker. I don't want that finger off so I can't pull a trigger again. My middle finger's still good and they won't have me around with my fore-finger stiff. I can convince them I've used my middle finger from childhood and then they'll let me go back to the boys in the Legion."

Scanlon was led into the operation room. He refused to take an anesthetic. He said:

"I've seen enough blood in this war, and some of it's been my own. I guess I can stand a little more of it. Get out your cleaver."

While Scanlon looked on without a grimace, the forefinger was cut off close to the knuckle. A young American volunteer nurse in the hospital fainted as she held the basin, and Scanlon grinned in amusement as a young doctor picked her up and carried her off.

Scanlon arrived in Paris last week

and is now back with the One Hundred and Seventieth Regiment. His finger has completely healed. He writes that he now has a machine gun of his own and that all is "hunky-dory." Scanlon doesn't care whether he is transferred to the American force or not. He writes: "I want to be where there's something doing. When things start up on the American front I want to come over, but things ain't as lively there now as they are here."

Scanlon has taken part in a number of amateur bouts at the front and also has been "developing" several promising young French lightweights in the ranks. The American Legionnaire has been three times wounded.—New York Times.

SPRINGFIELD M. REPUBLICAN

JUNE 17, 1918

WAR HITS MISSIONS

Permits Commercial Whites to Mistreat Natives of Africa, Zulu Woman Declares

The class of white people which has overrun South Africa and introduced vices which are even worse than the old heathen customs of the Negro race was loudly condemned by Miss Lillian Tshabalala, a Zulu from South Africa, in speaking before a large audience at St John's church last evening. She told of the insults to the native women by white people in Africa and she appealed to the audience to assume the responsibility as a people in helping to redeem Africa and have justice brought to the fore.

Miss Tshabalala told of the havoc war has wrought among the missionaries. She said difficulties harassing missions have grown steadily worse since the beginning of the war. The European's lust for gold is the real underlying cause of the distressing conditions which now exist, for he lets his greed stand in the way of commerce, she declared. Miss Tshabalala, a graduate of one of the mission schools in this country and is back to Africa soon to address her people.

GERMANY PROTESTS USE OF COLORED TROOPS

BRYN N. Y. STANDARD
DECEMBER 15, 1918

LONDON, Dec. 14—(By British Admiralty Wireless).—The German Government has protested to France that the use of colored troops for the occupation of Palestine is an insult to the sentiment of the community of white races, says the "Times" correspondent at Tangiers.

"The German so-called Government cannot shake off the old habit of posing as champions of civilization," says the "Times." "After systematic committance for four years of deeds so foul that they have outraged the civilized democracies of the world against her, she has the effrontery to base her protest on the rounds of an 'insult to the community of white races.'"

LIBERIA AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

The Age
11-23-18
Very much keeping with the spirit of the times, Liberia, who so steadfastly stood by the Allies during the world war in spite of German threats, will demand a voice in the peace conference, where that government will make a stand for the right of self-determination for Africans.

There is no denying the fact that this step which the Negro Republic intends to take is a very important and necessary one, and it can also be said that it is an infinitely timely one.

That the disposal of the African colonies should be decided by the natives themselves and that the statesmen of Liberia no doubt will ask that this principle be applied not only to former German colonies but to those parts of Liberia which were absorbed by England and France, is the opinion of Bishop Alexander F. Camphor, who is the head of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Negro Republic.

It is to be hoped that sufficient cognizance of the truly heart and soul fashion in which Liberia entered the war as an associate

Africa

THE MODERN FABLE

The lion shares his prey with the other animals—Aeson's Fables.

Over in London, England, the Privy Council, corresponding roughly to our Supreme Court, handed down a very important decision last Monday affecting the claims of four parties, for 48,000,000 acres of land.

These millions of acres constitute Matabeleland in British South Africa, and before 1880 were ruled by one black chief—Lobengula, head of the Matabeles. Sometime after 1880 British troops overthrew Lobengula and seized his lands, the British South Africa Company occupying the country for trading purposes.

When the case came to court there was the Colonial Government, or the legislative council to put in its claim as well as the natives and the trading company. The high court of the British Empire decided against the three of them and awarded the millions of acres to—itsself. This is possibly the best thing that could happen anyway. It is doubtful if the natives are capable of self-government and it is certain that the land is their property and not that of any white colonial government or trading company. Now it becomes a crown colony, like several of the British West Indies, and safe against exploitation.



THREE WEST INDIAN SOLDIERS IN THE BRITISH ARMY ON THE FRENCH FRONT

WINS WAR HONOR

Clarksville, Tenn., June 15.—Gale Carr, a native of Clarksville who is in the British army in France, has received two medals for bravery. He has been in the British army two years.

N.Y.C. POST

JUNE 3, 1918

Colored soldiers from Trinidad, serving in Egypt, have recently won one military cross and three military medals for bravery.—[The Crisis.

GERMAN COLONIES AS "U"-BOAT BASES

THE REASON IS NOW CLEAR for the stubborn determination shown by the Huns that, come what may, Germany's one indispensable peace condition is the return of her colonies. Now first this idea can be seen from a speech made by Dr. Solf, Germany's Foreign Minister, in the midst of the political crisis following President Wilson's notes. At a meeting in Munich, in the presence of the King of Bavaria, Dr. Solf remarked:

"The fate of the world will in future no longer be exclusively decided in Europe. Enemy propaganda works among the credulous with the threadbare argument that our rule was one of the 'mailed fist.' Unaffected by the changing fortunes of war, we must, even in a moment of depression, not abandon our active colonial policy."

"The Imperial Government adheres firmly to its demand for the return of our African and South-Sea possessions, as well as for a fresh partition of Africa, such as to consolidate our scattered possessions. Belgium, Portugal, and France possess excessively large stretches of territory. We do not want the lion's share. The broadest classes of the nation must be brought to perceive that the war must not end without the Empire receiving what it needs."

The British Colonial Minister, Mr. Walter Long, immediately replied, pointing out what really lies behind this demand. In a speech to the British Colonial press delegates he is reported by the London *Daily Chronicle* as saying:

"I am here to-night to say this—that if these territories are returned to Germany the sacrifice of our heroes will have been made in vain, and I say that the spirits of those men will come from their graves and rebuke you if, after the sword has done its splendid work, the pen is so cowardly as to give back what the sword has won."

"In the Pacific there are islands taken from Germany, valuable in themselves, valuable for what they possess, for their mineral properties, but ten times more valuable for something else. It will not be merely as valuable possessions that the Germans will regard them. They will regard them as bases for wireless, for aeroplanes, for submarines."

The London *Morning Post* develops the theme editorially:

"There are many reasons why Germany must be deprived of these lands; all of them are sufficient, and one is absolutely conclusive. It is that civilization can not possibly afford to give Germany the opportunity of establishing submarine bases overseas. A survey of Mercator's projection will show that, given a sea endurance of from 17,000 to 30,000 miles, a range which they already possess, German submarines based on the ex-German colonial coasts, would command the trade-routes of the world. No maritime Power, or group of Powers, could effectually control so vast a sphere of influence. The possession of naval bases in the Cameroons, in German East Africa, and in German New Guinea would enable Germany to hold up the trade of the world at any moment without warning, and thus to impose her will upon any other nation or group of nations. It is for this reason that Germany, in July, 1914, offered to respect the integrity of France, excepting the French colonies, if England would remain neutral. It is for this reason that Germany would now barter almost anything in exchange for her lost colonies. It is for this reason that Captain von Weise, addressing a mass-meeting in Berlin on behalf of the German Government, said: 'We need colonies in the Pacific for military and strategic reasons; we need naval bases.' And it is for the same reason that the rulers of Germany have suggested the 'internationalization' of British naval bases. Once Germany regained her overseas possessions, no power on earth could prevent her from dominating all seas."

Dr. Solf argues that without her colonies Germany would be

in a state of helpless economic dependence upon a hostile world. As he sees it:

"The regaining of our colonies is a task of national importance which is not eclipsed by any other. The tropical and subtropical lands supplied 50 per cent. of all the raw materials for which we and our industries are dependent on foreign countries. The present substitute materials can not suffice for peace. For the wool alone Germany would have to keep fifty million sheep, which is practically impossible. The supply of raw materials, which will be much more difficult in the future, is the weakest point of our world economy. Without colonies of our own we must remain dependent on the arbitrariness of foreign countries."

The *Morning Post* makes short work of this argument and of the plea that the German colonies are indispensable as a refuge for Germany's surplus population by saying:

"The German colonies have never served, and never would have served, as homes for the superfluous population of Germany. German emigrants preferred to settle anywhere else, and no wonder. Nor have the German colonies provided raw material for Germany. The total exports of the German colonies did not exceed five millions' worth. Germany, as we are now beginning to learn—as even the Liberal party is beginning to admit—controlled in great measure the product and sale of raw material in every other country. In the second place, the German colonies were never intended to serve any purpose other than a military purpose. The design of Germany in attacking France (an enterprise in whose preparation she assumed the neutrality of Great Britain) was first to vanquish France, and then to take Martinique, French Guinea, Dakar, Madagascar, Cochin China, and New Caledonia. Possessing these naval bases, and already owning the Cameroons, the East-African littoral, and German New Guinea, Germany could have challenged the world."

Meanwhile, it appears that Mr. Gompers, during his European trip, has been interpreting the "No indemnity, no annexation" formula to mean that the German colonies must be restored. This excites the wrath of the London *Saturday Review*, which has a word to say:

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, who has broken his 'birth's invidious bar' and climbed to a position of power in the United States only second to that of President Wilson, must be a man of extraordinary ability. The Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference has proved to be as divided and tumultuous as most democratic assemblies. But if Mr. Gompers really represents the opinion of organized labor in America, it is as well to note that he excludes from the peace terms (1) the economic boycott, (2) all annexations and indemnities. The first exclusion puts the lid on Mr. Hughes and the tariffists. The second means the restoration of the colonies to Germany and of Mesopotamia to the Turks, and prohibits compensation to Belgium. We do not know whether it bars the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine to France. But as Great Britain and the Dominions will never agree to give the colonies back to Germany or Mesopotamia to the Turks, it would be as well if the British and American Governments came to some clear understanding about the speeches of Mr. Samuel Gompers."

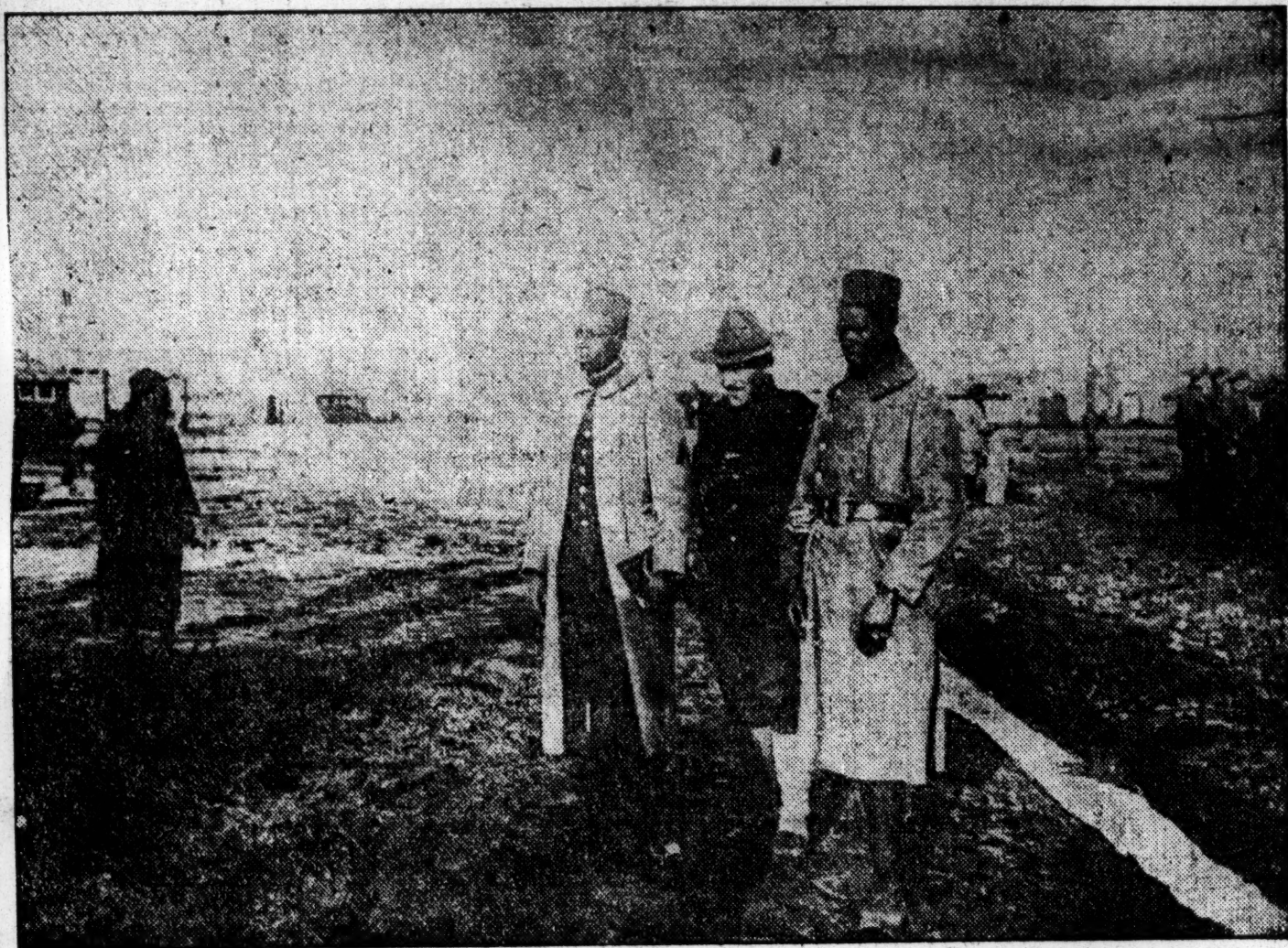


Photo copyright Underwood & Underwood

The war makes wonderful changes in the lives of men. An American marine taking a stroll with two French colonial troops, both of whom are officers in the French army. Here again the color line fades. Years before this same marine would never have been seen with men of a darker hue. The Lord work in a mysterious way His wonders perform.

SLAVERY IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

On December 3d, it was reported that the British had driven the last of the German forces out of German East Africa into Portuguese territory. Thus Germany has lost its last colonial possessions. The *Sudan Times* reports that one hundred eighty-five thousand slaves were found by the British on the German East African Protectorate. The Anti-slavery and Aborigines Protection Society of England has issued an appeal to the British Secretary of State for the colonies to proclaim their freedom. The appeal states that a resolution was submitted to the German Reichstag on March 19, 1914, asking for the emancipation of these slaves on January 1, 1920. The system of enforced labor was admitted, but the resolution for their freedom was resisted on account of the compensating owners. It is time that all systems of contract labor, enforced labor and other forms of compulsory service, which involves practical slavery should be abolished throughout the earth.

RACE RIOTING IN LONDON, ENG.

Caused by White Girls' Infatuation for Black Men, Police Testify

London, Eng., July 2.—"In consequence of the infatuation of white girls for black men in this district some of the inhabitants are greatly incensed against colored men," said a police officer, testifying to-day in West Ham police court. On Saturday night a pitched battle was fought between colored and whites. Disturbances lasted until Sunday evening when the police dispersed a mob of 1,000, making several arrests.

Liberia, the West African Republic, is preparing for a presidential campaign, and already three candidates are in the field for the nomination; namely: C. D. B. King, Secretary of State; J. J. Dossen, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, S. G. Harmon, Vice President. In an appeal in behalf of Mr. Harmon, the following dedication from a book by Stuart Young, a white man, is quoted with approval: "A black man with a white man's heart." Whether this physiological peculiarity will prove a handicap in the presidential race remains to be seen.

LIBERIAN PACIFICISM

If it is true that "the meek shall inherit the earth," then a good part of the globe will one day belong to Liberia. The little West African republic declined recent offers of France and America to supply coast defense guns and equipment to make a fortified port of Monrovia, the capital. Since Monrovia was shelled by a German submarine, which destroyed the wireless plant and a part of the town, friendly European countries and America offered their help to prevent future attacks.

On the theory that fortifications only serve to attract attacks from the enemy and that the country in its present unfortified condition under the Hague provisions and international law is exempt from enemy bombardment, Liberia has refused all offers of war material.

There is not very much difference between Liberia's action now and the tendency of certain political parties of the United States before the war. President Taft and others preached disarmament and pacificism while England, France, Germany and various European powers were creating larger standing armies and building war vessels. Everybody knows what this lack of preparedness meant for our country, and what it has meant for Belgium. Switzerland and Holland are not overrun by Germany because they are prepared.

Liberia is isolated, it is true, so the United States thought itself, until it found differently. Liberia thinks it can depend upon foreign nations to observe international law and the Hague provisions. So did this country at the beginning, but we have learned differently now. Germany started it, but there is not a single nation now fighting that has not broken both international law and the Hague provisions.

Until Liberia arms itself, it cannot expect to be safe against foreign nations. The United States can give the little republic a page from its book of experiences.

WHITES DO NOT WANT NATIVES TO HAVE MONOPOLY OF UNSKILLED WORK IN THE COUNTRY.

The Transvaal is now discussing whether unskilled labor shall be the exclusive property of native natives or whether white men shall be employed for such work. There is considerable difference of opinion in the matter, and although certain interests oppose the employment of white men at comparatively high wages, several newspapers and organizations are strongly in favor of educating white men to perform all the important work of the country.

One objection to the employment of white men for unskilled work is that it may bar blacks from employment of any kind. White labor now has a monopoly of the skilled trades and there is a possibility that the high wages for white unskilled labor may cause employers to hire white men exclusively as they refuse to pay the same money to blacks.

Africa

LIBERIA MAKING GOOD.

For many years it has been the custom to refer to the Republic of Liberia in terms of disparagement or at least of commiseration. Especially has this been the case with those white Americans who have had cause to visit or even to refer to the West African republic. So it is refreshing to note the utterances of Bishop Lloyd, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, President of the Board of Missions and Bishop of Liberia, in a recent commencement address, when he took occasion to compare the task of the Liberians with that of the American Negroes. He said among other things:

I have seen a strange thing—the only spot on God's earth where Africans are working out their own destiny without let or hindrance—where pure-blooded Africans are working out the problems of citizenship. I have seen how these Africans make good, with no white man's hand guiding, helping, or supporting them. I have seen the courage, enthusiasm, and force of African who have built for themselves a republic in the face of untold obstacles.

Statements unworthy of Liberia are generally untrue. The Liberians are not degenerate, neither are they dishonest. Liberia has never defaulted a dollar.

Liberia is not immoral. Liberia's morality is identical with your morality. Liberia's dream of the future is identical with yours.

This missionary Bishop sees good work being done in the African field and has the honesty and the courage to give credit where it properly belongs. Many missionaries in their mistaken zeal to magnify the needs of their work, paint conditions in the most forbidding colors, showing the worst side of the people committed to their pastoral care. The Negro in America has frequently suffered in this manner.

In view of this tendency, the statement of Bishop Lloyd concerning Liberia is all the more gratifying to the friends of that country.

In the present world struggle Liberia has thrown her lot with the allies and her capital city, Monrovia, has already paid the penalty in becoming the object of attack by the enemy's submarines. Her government and people are therefore the more deserving of sympathy and encouragement in the progress they are making in political and moral development.

REVEALS GERMAN CRUELTY TO BLACKS

British Answer Sol's Demand for Return of Colonies by Citing Official Documents.

INDICTS GERMAN FITNESS

Inhumanity Toward Africans Mingled with Immorality and Broken Promises.

N.Y. TIMES
SEPTEMBER 13, 1918

LONDON, Sept. 12.—A report containing evidences of the brutal methods employed by Germany in the administration of her colonies in Africa, made public today by Edmond H. L. Georges, Acting Secretary of the Interior for the Union of South Africa, constitutes the British Government's reply to Dr. W. S. Sol's, the German Secretary of State for the Colonies, that Germany would demand the return of her colonies at the peace conference.

The report, which is regarded as one of the most sensational ever issued in connection with German colonial methods, is an indictment of German fitness to rule the black native of Africa.

The facts upon which the report is based are taken from official German documents at Windhoek, sworn statements by native chiefs and by Europeans familiar with the country, and the writings of Governor Leutwein, who held office from 1894 to 1905; Dr. Paul Rohrbach, Dr. Karl Dove, and others.

Altogether the report contradicts in detail Dr. Sol's recent assertion that "Germany's pre-war humane treatment of the native races won for her the moral right to be a great colonial power." Regarding this assertion this statement is made by Acting Secretary Georges:

"The native opinion here is unanimously against any idea of their ever being handed back to the tender mercies of Germany. Any suggestion of the possibility of an act of this kind on the part of Great Britain produces the utmost consternation."

The report states that the first twenty-five years of German rule in Southwest Africa was an unbroken record of official bad faith, private oppression,

cruelty, barbarities, and robberies, culminating in the Herero and Hottentot rebellions. During the first seventeen years there was no law for the natives. Such protection as the law eventually provided indicated considerations of humanity, but the order to exploit the natives as laborers remained.

Broke Compacts with Natives.

When the Germans first arrived, says the report, they entered into agreements with the native chiefs, but these became scraps of paper and the natives were fraudulently deprived of their best land. Traders and settlers robbed them of their cattle, which was their only wealth, and the law subsequently prevented the natives from possessing large herds of stock.

The natives were thus driven to work at ridiculously inadequate wages and often were never paid. They were treated like slaves and their women folk were habitually maltreated by the Germans, who took them into forced concubinage.

These were some of the things which goaded the natives into rebellion, which was suppressed by ruthless cruelty, resulting practically in the extermination of the three tribes involved. The Hereros were reduced from 80,000 to 15,000, the Hottentots from 20,000 to 9,800, and the Berg-Damaras from 30,000 to 12,800. Thus 80 per cent. of the Herero people disappeared, and more than half of the Hottentots and Berg-Damaras shared the same fate.

How it was done was to supersede the lenient Governor Leutwein by Governor Trotha, fresh from Germany to East Africa, where he had suppressed the Arab rebellion by a wholesale massacre. Governor Trotha issued an "extermination order," the terms of which provided that no Herero man, woman, or child was to receive mercy or quarter.

"Kill every one of them; take no prisoners," he said in the orders. Evidence that the order was only too faithfully carried out is recorded in a story of Governor Trotha's former groom, who described how he once was ordered to kill a young Herero woman. He refused in disgust, whereupon a German soldier showed him how to do it, and then held the dripping bayonet in his face.

An officer and German soldiers were standing around, but none interfered in behalf of the woman.

Another witness, who was with Governor Trotha two years, testified that he knew of no instance of prisoners being spared. Even after the rebellion surviving natives fared little better.

A Telltale Document.

One of the documents cited in the report is a secret circular by Governor Heitz in 1912 and addressed to magistrates, in which he refers to the desperate feeling becoming prevalent among the natives.

"The reason," he states, "which unanimously is given for this fact is that the brutal excesses of Europeans against natives are alarmingly increasing. It is regrettable that even police officers become guilty of such offenses in a few cases, and that such offenses are not punished by the courts of law in a way that they ought to be according to a sense of justice to the natives."

Acting Secretary Georges supplies sworn statements from natives which give an idea of the reign of terror existing among them. He adds:

"The instances of cruelty, injustice, and barbarism might be multiplied almost indefinitely. Instances of gross bestial conduct which for sheer depravity and immorality are well-nigh unbelievable are also contained in the file of affidavits, but they are hardly fit for publication."

Part two of the report deals at length with the position of the natives before the law. The ordinance governing criminal jurisdiction over the natives contained provisions repugnant to conceptions of justice. The natives were not tried in ordinary courts, but by officers

who also did police duties and had authority to delegate their judicial powers to subordinate officials. Imprisonment in chains and flogging were allowed not only for serious crimes, but also as "disciplinary measures," on the application of an employer, or for offenses against the master and servants' law, or for insubordination, continued idleness or neglect of duty.

From the records of German courts it seems clear that native evidence was habitually disregarded and that the natives were not allowed to give evidence on oath. The natives were thus kept in a state of fear. No opportunity of redress was open to them, and they dared not go to the police with complaints. Crimes by Germans, however, against natives were reviewed by the courts. Gruesome photographs are given in the report of hangings and flogging of natives, and it is asserted that executions were carried out in a manner that would have been considered brutal 200 years ago.

Hangings was a practice with the administrators of native affairs, as also was flogging, which was done with long sjambok, capable of causing the gravest injury or death, as many as fifty strokes being given at a time.

HUNS TREATED NEGRO AS SLAVE

Atrocities Revealed in Southwest Africa.

HERERO MASSACRE'S STORY

Captured German Archives Show Evidence.

N.Y. TIMES
DECEMBER 20, 1918

LONDON, Dec. 6.—On Aug. 20 last Dr. Sol claimed that Africa should be divided between the Powers according to their merits as protectors of the colored races. He has got his answer in the state of things revealed by the "Report on the Natives of Southwest Africa and Their Treatment by Germany," issued by the British Administrator of Southwest Africa, E. H. M. Gorgos.

The German archives captured at Windhuk show exactly what German "protection" meant. The evidence on which the German colonial administration is condemned is not native evidence, but gathered from its own official records.

According to the report, Southwest Africa was both overadministered and badly administered. In 1911 there were 881 officials there to 1,390 farmers; but the administration, according to Dr. Rohrbach, formerly settlement commissioner there, was both soulless and pettifogging, and the officials wrote endless minutes but knew little of the country or the people.

Got Only Undesirables.

The settlers, too, were a bad type; many were men of Trotha's army, completely brutalized by his methods of massacre, and when the Kaiser tried to create a colonial aristocracy only the undesirables went from Germany. But the two worst sources of

trouble were the feebleness of successive Governors and the behavior of the police.

The police were given judicial power and the powerlessness of the Governor to check the abuses which he recognized is well illustrated by the confidential circular of Von Seitz to his subordinates, dated May 31, 1912, a document which blows to atoms Dernburg's boasted colonial "reforms."

Seitz recognized frankly the increase in the "brutal excesses against natives" by both settlers and police, and the uselessness of the law courts, and declared that such people ought to be punished, but, though he dreaded a native rising, the only remedy that occurred to him was the hope for a change of heart in the community. He suggested that settlers who ill treated their native servants should lose their native labor, but, according to the report, this was never carried out.

The Herero Massacre.

When Germany annexed the country there were in it (outside Ovamboland, which was never occupied) well over 130,000 natives and by 1911 there were 37,742. The ghastly story of the Herero massacre is now told in full for the first time, and it is noteworthy that Rohrbach, so severe on the German administration, condemns Trotha because he massacred not the Hereros but their cattle. The Germans had to import Cape boys to work the diamond mines; and of the vast herds of cattle owned by the Hereros not one remained in 1905.

Gov. von Leutwein in 1906 summed up the results of German rule: "At a cost of several hundred million marks and several thousand German soldiers, we have of the three business assets of the protectorate, mining, farming and native labor, destroyed the second entirely and two-thirds of the last." Prof. Bonn in 1914 said: "We solved the native problem by smashing tribal life and creating a scarcity of labor."

Did Not Keep Word.

The report brings out over and over again the German's utter faithlessness to his pledged word. At the Congo conference in 1885 Germany pledged herself to preserve the aboriginal races and watch over their interests; and she was prominent at the Brussels anti-slavery conference in 1890.

In the various "protection agreements" made with native chiefs the Kaiser pledged himself to give his All-Highest protection to chief and people, and to see that Europeans respected the laws, customs and usages of the natives. The result was massacre, even of friendly peoples, the break up of tribal life and its sanctions, and a systematic degradation of women.

After Trotha was recalled Gov. von Lindequist issued a proclamation saying that natives who surrendered would be justly treated. Those who did utterly starved, were at once sent to the mines, and in a short time 60 per cent. were dead. The horrible story of this second massacre is told by several white eyewitnesses.

Law Was Prostituted.

The law itself was prostituted to the purposes of the German settlers. The

object of the bulk of the laws of the Protectorate might, says the report, be described as "the regulation of permanent and enforced slavery of the natives, with a view to insuring their perpetual degradation into a class of pauperized laborers."

The most important, and the only one that can be noticed here, was the punishment ordinance of 1896, which departed from German practice and left a wide discretion to those who administered it, chiefly the police.

The ordinance provided three punishments unknown to German law, flogging, imprisonment with hard labor and imprisonment in chains. Many of the chains have been found and are barbarous in the extreme. Flogging was the usual penalty for idleness or refusal to work. The rhinoceros hide sjambok of Southwest Africa was not used unsparingly.

Settlers Flogged Natives.

Settlers also exercised a right called "paternal chastisement," i. e., they used the sjambok at their pleasure. Southwest Africa was known to the natives of the Union as "the land of the twenty-five lashes," and as a result there is not one native in ten who is not scarred.

In the case of murder German law distinguishes between Mord (murder with intention and deliberation) and Totschlag (murder with intention only). It only permits the death penalty for the former. Consequently a German could flog a native to death for a nominal penalty of three years imprisonment.

COLONIES WANT SPOILS OF WAR

Britain's African Subjects Would Keep Lands Taken From Germans.

DETROIT MICH FREE PRESS
NOVEMBER 16, 1918

Wm. Campbell, Auto Importer, Says Compatriots Prospered During Conflict.

British subjects in Africa, who raised enough troops to whip the kaiser's forces in the adjoining German colonies, would be bitterly disappointed to see those colonies returned to Germany at the peace conference, according to William Campbell, of Johannesburg, Transvaal.

Mr. Campbell is again at Hotel Statler after two years absence. He is well known in the automobile world as the largest importer of cars into Africa and usually makes the trip to Detroit each year. This year he was forced to come by way of China and San Francisco. The trip consumed six weeks.

Militarism a Menace.

Germany's success in forcing upon the African Negro the acceptance of the Prussian militaristic system constitutes a menace that the peaceful South African people will have to be on their guard against, he said.

The emperor's forces have been beaten in German southwest Africa, said Mr. Campbell, but in German East Africa, which is mostly forest land, a guerilla warfare existed at the time he started for America.

The entire import trade during the last two years to the English colonies in South Africa has come from the United States, he said, with the exception of clothes, which the English managed to manufacture in spite of war.

Cheaper Cars From Detroit.

"Natural sympathy for England will turn a great part of this trade back to England," said Mr. Campbell, "although the United States can maintain its export in essential American specialties. England ships out some high class automobiles, but the great bulk of the cheaper automobiles come from Detroit and no doubt will continue to come from here.

"Machinery, automobiles, steel and foodstuffs, characteristic American trade goods such as toasted corn flakes, will continue to be in favor in South Africa.

The Union of South Africa, comprising Rhodesia, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Cape Colony, with a government somewhat like Canada, has a population of 1,250,000 whites and was never so prosperous as at the present time, said Mr. Campbell. For the first time it is exporting more than it imports.

South Africa Prosperous.

The inhabitants have become prosperous through the war, their food-products bringing high prices. The country is rich in coal, has large mineral resources and is making money from the cattle-raising industry said Mr. Campbell, and will shortly go in for manufacturing. Before he left three blast furnaces, the first in the country, had been built.

France will gain in economic strength as Germany became powerful after the Franco-Prussian war, in the opinion of Mr. Campbell, not through any additional virility acquired during the war, but from the possession of the rich coal mines in Alsace-Lorraine.

"I am surprised that everyone is talking of the rivalry that will come after the war between the United States and Great Britain," said Mr. Campbell, "and no word said about France. The rich coal fields which Germany took from her will make her powerful, just as they made Germany powerful and by the same token Germany's sun has set with the wresting from her of this valuable land."

In commenting on the two peace celebrations, one of which he witnessed in New York, the other in Detroit, Mr. Campbell said: "You are the most emotional people I know of, with the exception of the Latin races."

AFRICA AFTER THE WAR.

The peoples of the various countries engaged in the world's war have endeavored from time to time to define the aims of the countries of which they form the backbone and thus curb the am-

bitious schemes of their statesmen and rulers. One of the latest expressions of this nature was the message made public by the British Labor party last week addressed to the Russian people.

This message, which was issued by the Labor party and the Trades Union congress, said among other things:

"In tropical Africa we repeat our renunciation of annexations. Nobody contends that the black races can govern themselves. They can only make it known that the particular government under which they have been living is bad in some or all respects and indicate the specific evils from which they desire liberation. We believe that the peace conference would be well advised to place all tropical Africa under uniform international control.

Judging from this statement of policy to be pursued toward Africa, the British people are not much further advanced than their leaders in the accordance of a world wide democracy for all races and peoples. A refutation may yet be furnished to the sweeping statement that "nobody contends that the black races can govern themselves."

As to the concession extended that they can make known that the particular government under which they have been living is bad and that they may indicate specific evils, this has already been done through the native journals of both West and South Africa. More liberal concessions than these will have to be made by the people and the government of Great Britain if they expect to maintain their influence on the African Continents.

South African Native National Congress.

THE NEW OFFICE-BEARERS ELECTED AT BETHLEHEM LAST WEEK.

Mr. Makgatho, Pretoria, ... President.
.. J. Budd-Mbelle, J'burg, Secretary.
.. E. S. Mochochoko, Winburg, Assist. Secretary.
.. W. W. Ndhlovu, Vryheid, Treasurer
.. Chief J. M. Nyokong, Thaba-Nchu, Assist. Treasurer.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Mr. Sol. T. Plaatje... ...Kimberley.
.. Saul MsaneJ'burg.
.. Chief S. MiniP. M. Burg.
.. Rev. M. Maxeke ...Transkei.
.. F. Z. Fenyang... ...Thaba-Nchu
.. D. S. LetankaJ'burg.
.. Chief T. Ntombela ...Ladysmith.

2,000,000 HALF-CROWNS

TREASURY COMMITTEE.

Mr. Mangena & Mbelle, Treasurers
.. W. W. Ndhlovu, Chairman.
.. R. W. Msimang,
.. T. M. Mapikela,
.. Sol. T. Plaatje.

Handwritten notes:
J'burg
4/5/18
Makgatho

"WHAT JAPAN IS THINKING"

New York Age 11-20-18
Under the above heading a Japanese writing in the current issue

The New Republic makes some statements so frankly that they are almost startling. He begins his article by saying that it is in answer to the questions, "How do the Japanese feel toward the present war? Why are they not more inclined to help overcome Germany? Do they not understand that this is a struggle for freedom and democracy in the world?"

In answer to these questions the writer assigns two main reasons for the attitude of Japan. He begins the first reason which he assigns for Japan's reluctance to take a more active part in the war with these words:

First, racial discrimination against us on the part of all English-speaking nations, although our loyalty to the Allied cause is guaranteeing the safety of the vast Asiatic possessions of the Allies. It cannot be too strongly stated that it would be impossible to rouse Japan to fight for democratic principles that have no impartial application.

He follows with a discussion of the Japanese exclusion acts. He begins his second reason with these words:

A second great reason why we are not more deeply involved in the present struggle, is an economic one. Rightly or wrongly, we feel that Americans as well as Europeans are unwilling that Japan should have free access to the resources of the Far East and Eastern Siberia.

Here he follows with a discussion of Japan's economic condition and the policies of other nations toward her. These may be the opinions of one man and not the Japanese people; but this one man is no ordinary Japanese; his is a well equipped mind, and what he says is worth reading and thinking about.

Next War Will Be**A Color Line Fight.****Says Yukio Ozaki**

N. Y. C. TRIBUNE

DECEMBER 27, 1918

Predicts Dusky Races Will**Battle for Rights; Asserts****U. S. Should Dismantle****Forts on Pacific Islands**

TOKIO, Nov. 20 (Correspondence of The Associated Press).—Belief that the next war will be the outcome of race prejudice is expressed by Yukio Ozaki, formerly Minister of Justice, and a leading member of the Constitutional party. Mr. Ozaki said that, in his opinion, the colored races which are steadily developing their civilization would demand finally the same treatment as the white races, and that the result would be an armed collision. Mr. Ozaki recommended that at the peace conference Japan, acting on be-

half of all the Asiatic races, should introduce the racial and population questions for consideration, and if possible, secure a solution.

In a country like Japan, where the population is increasing with alarming rapidity, he said, it was but natural that the surplus population should try to obtain an outlet even by resorting to arms. From Japan's standpoint, said Mr. Ozaki, the racial or population questions were more important than President Wilson's "fourteen points" as laid down for a basis of Germany's surrender. These racial questions, he said, concerned the future of millions of souls in Asia.

Mr. Ozaki warned the Japanese not to develop the German system of state organization, which in the present war had proved to be a mere machine for ruling under foot the rights of other nations and peoples.

On the question of Japan's occupation of the German South Sea Islands, Mr. Ozaki declared that the United States should dismantle her forts in the Philippines and Hawaii, and that this would be more important for Japan than the taking over of the South Sea islands.

**JAPAN MINISTER
PREDICTS RACE WAR**

Chicago Defender 11-26-18
Says Oppressed Races Will Demand Better Treatment From Whites

(By Continental Press.)

TOKIO, Dec. 27.—The belief that the next war will be the outcome of race prejudice is expressed by Yukio Ozaki, formerly minister of justice, and a leading member of the Constitutional party. Mr. Ozaki said that in his opinion the colored races, which steadily were developing their civilization, would demand finally the same treatment as the white races and that the result would be an armed collision.

Japan to Act

Mr. Ozaki recommended that at the peace conference, Japan acting on behalf of all the Asiatic races, should introduce the racial and population questions for consideration, and, if possible, secure a solution.

In a country like Japan, where the population is increasing with alarming rapidity, he said it was but natural that the surplus population should try to obtain an outlet even by resorting to arms. From Japan's standpoint, said Mr. Ozaki, the racial or population questions were more important than President Wilson's "fourteen points" as laid down for a basis of Germany's surrender. These racial questions, he said, concerned the future of millions of souls in Asia.

Race Problem - 1918

Canada

James Grant, a Canadian Negro soldier of St. Catharines, Ont..

has been given the Military Cross for taking a gun through a critical place

which was heavily shelled by the Germans . He is a member of the 49th Battery.

The Crisis March 1918 p. 248.

P. E. Butler, a member of the race, Grant their mascot. He, with John Mil-
 born in Lucan, Ont., in 1860, enjoys-ler of this city, took a gun through a
 the distinction of having been con- dangerous place being heavily shelled
 stable of that county for forty years by the Germans. The military cross was
 given to Grant.

Canadian British Mission Open Again to Colored Recruits

Instructions have been received by the Canadian British Recruiting Mission to accept colored men for the service. Some time ago a number were accepted and then there was a falling off and for a time they were refused. This new order re-opens the door.

Noonday meetings in Military Park were resumed today. A large crowd heard the speakers, who urged all British subjects to join the ranks and the Americans to join their forces. Joseph P. Taylor, civilian recruiting officer, and Sergeant Edwin J. Lessel were the speakers.

CANADIAN RAILROAD TO IMPORT NEGROES FROM THE SOUTH

St. Thomas, Canada, May 15.—Owing to the drastic shortage of firemen on the railroads in St. Thomas, caused by the amendment to the Military Service Act, the Pere Marquette Railroad is making preparations to bring in a large number of southern United States Negroes to this city and other divisional points and speedily train them for the duties of firemen. Not less than fifty firemen on this line from here have been taken on military duty during the past ten days, and it is impossible to run the road without that help.

It is understood provision has been made by the United States authorities and our government to carry out this movement. If the scheme works out satisfactorily the Michigan Central and Wabash, who are suffering just the same shortage of help, will adopt the plan. It is not known how the Brotherhood and other unions will receive this

new departure
**CANADIAN NEGRO
WINS MILITARY CROSS**

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)
SAINT CATHARINES, ONT.—The first Negro soldier in the Canadian army to win the military cross is James Grant of this city, known to all as General. He went overseas with the 49th battery made up of Saint Catharines native soldiers entirely. They made General

Grant their mascot. He, with John Miller of this city, took a gun through a dangerous place being heavily shelled by the Germans. The military cross was given to Grant.

Only one man could have the honor, and Grant's white comrades magnanimously gave up their own claims. It looked like certain death for Grant and Miller when they took the gun through.

COLOR LINE APPEARS IN CANADIAN MEDICAL CLINIC

Queen's University at Kingston Will No Longer Receive Negro Students in Medicine

The Daily Herald
Feb. 9, 1918

Southern immigration into Canada has caused the color line to crop out suddenly. Queen's University will no longer receive Negro medical students. The medical faculty finds that, owing to increased objections in the local hospitals, especially the public wards, where a large number of Southern Americans are attended, have caused the Southernist prejudice to work against the Negro medical student until it is unable to give its Negro students adequate clinical instruction, and the faculty announces that it will admit no more of them.

At present there are fourteen Negro students from Barbados, British Guinea, and other Southern British possessions at Queen's. Arrangements will be made for their transfer to other colleges to complete their course.

DETROIT MICH. FREE PRESS
SEPTEMBER 20 1918
**KING OF ENGLAND
SENDS SYMPATHY**

Wife of Negro Soldier Gets Aerial Message.

"The king commands me to assure ye of the true sympathy of his majesty and the queen in your sorrow. Derby, secretary of state for war."

Mrs. Blanche Saunders, 345 Orleans street, received a card bearing the foregoing inscription, properly decorated with the British coat of arms Thursday, and her sorrow at the death of her husband in action at the front is tempered by the acknowledgment of the king of England that he sympathizes with her.

The husband, B. K. Saunders, is the first American Negro from Detroit to die in France, and therefore another distinction for the widow. He enlisted in the Canadian engineers April 8 of this year and was killed August 17. Besides his widow he leaves a father and mother in Guatemala. For five years previous to his enlistment he was employed by the Michigan Copper & Brass Co.



F. K. SAUNDERS.

Wounded in Service
Of Canada and France,
Negro Visits Atlanta

After being twice wounded while in service overseas and now incapacitated for further active duty, J. R. Wilkins, a giant negro, who was with the 18th Canadian Engineer regiment, and fought, too, when the Bosche pressed them, as evidenced by his wounds, was in Atlanta Saturday on his way to visit his home and the place of his birth, Manzanillo, Cuba.

At the outbreak of the war Wilkins was working in the wheat fields of Canada, which he immediately deserted to join the army. As a souvenir or "lucky piece," he had with him a lump of metallic substance which he said he found when a German ammunition dump had been blown up six miles from St. Quentin. This piece of metal, which somewhat resembles pyrites, is regarded by Wilkins with as much reverence as the southern negro does rabbit's foot.

COLORED PEOPLES' PART IN THE WAR

As was announced in our last issue, its subject without distinction of color or race.

the NEWS has been authorized to carry in detail the happenings of the colored troops now on the battlefields of France, Egypt, Mesopotamia and other countries.

France's Colonial Soldiers.

Besides the native soldiers from French West Africa and the Congo there are on active service against the Germans, natives of Somaliland in East Africa, from the great Island of Madagascar, and from Annam in the far East of Asia.

The Malagassies.

Long before the war the military qualities of the Malagasy peoples, the Makes, the Sakalaves and the Baras had been appreciated by so able a commander an administrator as General Gallieni. Hardy, capable of performing the longest marches and sustaining the greatest fatigues, thanks to the sobriety which maintains their physical vigour, the first battalion of the Malagasy Sharpshooters (Tirailleurs) had been recognized as a crack regiment, and on the 14th of July, 1913, had been solemnly presented with the tricolor flag, the sign and testimony of France's confidence in their courage and fidelity.

When the war began there was no immediate idea of calling upon the brave Malagassies for service in Europe. Nevertheless, they were instructed in the use of the pick and shovel, to manipulate machine guns to dig trenches, traverses and dugouts and to throw bombs, and were practised in all the methods of the war. They were trained in sham fights to employ all their instinct of combat and all the agility of their physique in this war of surprise which so often takes us back to the primitive conditions of hand-to-hand fighting.

Towards the end of 1915 the French Government, moved thereto by the splendid services of the West African troops, decided to add a Malagasy contingent to the "Grande Armee." On the 2nd of October, 1915, Colonel Brun, Commander of Regiment No. — of the "Tirailleurs Malgaches," decided to brigade his regiment with the garrison of Diego-Suarez and Tananarive to form the contingent for European service. On the 9th of the same month the brigade was reviewed by the Governor-General of the Island on its departure for France.

This first contingent has been joined by many fellow-countrymen, and has emulated the troops from other parts of Africa in courage, in discipline, and in loyalty to the great country which knows how to treat all

Some of the Malagasy units are in the fighting line, while others are employed at the depots and on the lines of communication. This latter employment does not always accord with the warlike instincts of an ancient race of fighters. One ardent warrior, disgusted at being told to break pebbles for the roads, deserted, taking his quick-firing gun with him, and on the morning of the 16th April applied to the Colonel commanding Battalion No. — "to be employed together with his gun."

Volunteers for a battalion for service in France were first called for in February, 1916. Members of all classes of society, including scions of the Annamite Imperial family, at once came forward in sufficient numbers to fill up the ranks. Officers were supplied by old Colonials, whom long residence had made thoroughly familiar with the character and customs of the people, who rapidly inculcated the necessary discipline and training. The Annamites, like their near relation, the Japanese, are small, but full of intelligence, energy, and courage, with remarkable artistic ability. They have been constituted into regular battalions and furnished with the usual military weapons, and are, therefore, considered to be combatant units, ready for employment whenever and wherever they may be required. Up to the present, however, they have only been employed as auxiliaries in the great industries necessary to supply the enormous demands of modern warfare, and in the services of supply, more or less behind the firing-line. In many towns throughout France, they are employed in factories, arsenals, and machine shops where the delicacy and adaptability of their hands make them dexterous and skilful manipulators of the complex machinery of up-to-date production. Large numbers are employed as draughtsmen in which capacity their artistic bent makes them most adept. They have also become skilful motor-driving. In Albania and Macedonia, along the roads from Florina to Monastir, these plucky little soldiers can be seen driving the motor-ambulances.

The battalion raised in February, 1916, has since been joined by two others, and today the Annamites, alert, intelligent, and industrial are to be seen in the enormous depots of the military railroad, which have sprung up everywhere behind the firing-line, unloading trains and filling

ories and carts with grenades, shells, victuals and the endless requirements of a modern army. Clothed in khaki jackets and puttees, with helmets on their heads (for a shell may reach them, or an enemy aviator may drop bombs) superintended by corporals and sergeants of their own nationality, no labor is too hard or too difficult for their endurance or their skill, and no longer can retard or prevent its performance. Thus engaged they are contributing as effectively to France's victory as if they were handling the deadly rifle or grenade, and France is so grateful to the Annamite tolling in factory or depot to "feed the war" as to any of her soldiers in the fighting ranks.

The cheerfulness, industry, and artistic tastes of the Annamites are most fully displayed in their cantonments here they have surrounded themselves with everything to keep them mindful of their native country. The ranks include many skilful artists who have adopted the doorways with goda-like form, and decorated the walls with shell-cases of the famous "Dragon" and the Tortoise, emblemical of the powers of the air and of the earth, whose unceasing struggle occupies so prominent a place in that mythology.

West Indians.

In the ranks of the Grand Armee are many colored men from the French West Indian Islands of Martinique and Gaudeloupe, and from French Guiana on the South American mainland. These are French citizens and in that capacity are enrolled in European regiments on a footing of absolute equality with their fellow-citizens born in France. The only difference made is that the colored soldiers are sent into garrisons in northern France or Algeria during the winter. In all other respects no distinction is made between them and white soldiers.

Les Senegalais.

Of all the troops which France has drawn from her various Colonies, it is no doubt that the Senegalais "Les Negrais," have most struck the popular imagination, and draw the most regard in France, by their union child-like simplicity with soldierly lities and indomitable courage. They are trained and inured to discipline, troops are easier to lead. Their discipline and sang-froid are as great as their fire as on parade, and their devotion to their duty knows no limit to death. What has most struck the people who have seen them in actual battle has been the spirit of discipline which animates their intrepidity renders their attacks so effective. To see them carry a position by assault, then seize and organize it, is sufficient to satisfy the most critical military observers that they are able to meet the most terrible of

At the Ravine of La Fausse Cote.

On the evening of the 23rd October, 1916, the Senegalese battalion arrived in the Verun sector to take part in the struggle for Fort Dousumont. After a long march they spent the night among the ruins of the village of Fleury. The night was cold, and shell-carters and fragments of walls were the only shelter. Roused in the morning by the pale and misty dawn and the bursting shells of the enemy artillery, stiff with cold but eager for the fray, their officers had a trouble to hold in their men until the time appointed for their advance. When that time came they marched in lines of squadrons at 25 paces interval and 50 distance, in the impeccable alignment of a gala field-day in spite of the nature of the ground, riven by month of bombardment into the semblance of a stormy sea, covered with corpses, fragments of barbed wire and the debris of many hard-fought battles, under a mist so thick that the squadron-leaders had to guide themselves by the compass. In this order they reached their first objective, deployed as skirmishers and, at the hour fixed, passed through the first line and sprang forward with distances and alignment as perfect as on parade. The squadron-leaders themselves drew the attention of their men to this magnificent spectacle which was visible as far as Fort Dousumont. In this order they reached the "Tisza" trench, when suddenly their flank came under murderous fire from machine-guns ensconced in a bay in the opposite slope about 20 metres from the right of the first Company. The line was made to lie down. The fire stopped for a moment, then broke out again in front; the battalion advanced by leaps up to the crest looking down on the ravine of la Fausse Cote from the south-west. The mitraille from the opposing slope struck down every man who showed himself. The losses were becoming serious, and the line seemed to be held up. Seeing that the position was critical, Captain Chauvin, commanding the first Company, brought up the supports into line with the assaulting sections, and, profiting by a movement of the units on his right, threw the whole company forward. The sprang to the assault, and Bugler Ambedious Baguen sounding "the charge" at the same moment, the left Company was also drawn forward and the ravine traversed at the double. The first section sprang on the machine-guns, and the gunners, stupefied at finding themselves surrounded, threw up their hands and surrendered. Sixty gunners and their weapons were the prize.

Calmly the — Senegalese battalion took possession of the position posted their bombers and quick-firers to hold off counter-attacks, and the sappers, spade in hand, turned the fortifications with a skill equal to that of the best engineers in Europe.

In the Order of the Day of the

Grande Armee the—Senegalese Battalion received the following mention: "On the 24th October, 1916, advanced to the attack of the German lines in perfect order, brilliantly seized the enemies first line, and then reforming, carried the principal objective assigned to them after a determined advance of more than two kilometres."

Captain Chauvin was awarded the Cross of the Legion of Honor for his brilliant leadership.

From the long list of "mentions" I select two:

"Abdou Youssouf.—Although wounded, returned to the firing-line and displayed the highest qualities of bravery and courage."

"Moussou Dansako.—Corporal of Battalion No.—; four times took wounded to the dressing station and returned to the firing-line, returned to his post after being wounded."

AFTER THE BATTLE

After the battle, in their cantonments, these splendid troops are filled with the pride of battle. They are happy at having fought, and proud of having conquered. They exult in having taken part in the struggle for humanity against the organization which has pressed on parts of Africa with a brutal domination. They are filled with contempt for the perpetrators of outrages on helpless and unarmed populations in Europe and Africa. On one occasion a Senegalese corporal at an observation post seeing a German column deploy, turned to his comrades in the trench and said, "look out! Here comes the Savages."

They are sensible to praise and encouragement. They are also by no means indifferent to the increase of pay which accompanies promotion, not so much for the sake of the money—they will not hesitate to gamble away all that they have about them, but for the pleasure of sending it to the wife and "piccaninnies" at home, whence come requests for silk handkerchiefs and other ornaments which they take a pride in fulfilling.

Madame Nadie Bagayoko, of Kindia, writes to thank her husband for 50 francs received by the last mail, and adds:—"Send me a silk handkerchief for my head, because they cannot be got in the shop here." We may be sure that the next mail carried her the coveted handkerchief.

It has been falsely stated that the coloured soldiers would not stand a bombardment. Their personal courage is indubitable and has been thoroughly proved, and like their European fellows, they have inured themselves to modern heavy artillery attacks, and endure it with calmness. They can even jest at it. After a recent dose of "drum-fire" one of them gained enormous applause by improvising a "Dance of the Flying Bomb." The performer looked upwards, searching the sky, started nervously at supposed explosions to right and left, crouched for shelter, rolled his eyes, pretended

to be terribly frightened, and took poses of mimic terror which made his comrades roll on the ground in paroxysms of laughter. Yet only the night before the merry mockers had returned from the trenches where for days they had been exposed to the real thing!

A RECORD OF SERVICE

On the 1st of March, 1916, a battalion was organized at Saint Raphael from veterans of the previous campaign and recruits recently arrived from Africa. After three months' training, to give the necessary cohesion, the battalion was sent to the front on the 1st of June, and went into the trenches on the Oise, and then on the Somme, taking its part in all the battles.

At the end of October, the battalion went into winter quarters near Aachen, where it was put under "intensive" training and on the 19th of March, 1917, joined the armies of the North and Northeast on the line of the Aisne, where it was attached to a regiment of Colonial Infantry with which it took part in the Spring offensive.

On the 16th and 17th April it distinguished itself greatly at the farm of Noisy, the men dying at their posts rather than abandon the position which they had taken.

In May it served at the Mill of Lafaux, and in June, July was in the trenches in the reconquered part of Alsace.

During July-August it took part in the defence of the plateaux of Craonne and California and fought on the Chemin des Dames.

These names suffice to show that the battalion was always at the seat of the hottest fighting, and wherever it was called upon to serve, whether in attack or in defence, it attracted attention by its courage, devotion and self-sacrifice.

The quality of these gallant soldiers will be shown by a few quotations from the "citations a l'ordre" for a single day.

"Kott Ana, private:—Cool and collected; courageously led his comrades on the 16th April, 1917 to an assault of the enemy positions. Although wounded, continued to throw his bombs on a hostile machine-gun and only left his post when his strength gave out."

"Moderi Combs, private:—Very devoted and courageous; on the 16th April, 1917, dressed, under fire, the wounds of his lieutenant and returned to his post in the line."

"Demba N'Daigne, private:—Very courageous, on the 16th April, 1917 taking the quick-firing gun of one of his wounded comrades, stopped, by his fire, an attempted bombing attack by the enemy."

"Mamadon N'Daigne, sergeant:—On the 1th April, 1917, distinguished himself among the bravest of those who advanced against a German counter-attack and formed a first line of defense behind the barbed wire."

"Donga Thiam, private:—On the 16th April, 1917, being with a group of bombers and all his comrades having become casualties continued alone to cast his bombs into the enemy's trench."

"Eli Diot, corporal:—Showed remarkable courage in the attack of the enemy's lines, on the 16th April remained at his post although seriously wounded and never ceased to encourage his comrades."

Where all are brave it is no small matter to stand out sufficiently to attract notice; each "citation a l'ordre" is equal to a decoration, and is inscribed on the Regiment's Roll of Honor as a leaf of laurel in its crown, as a memento of deeds which have made it illustrious, and an incitement to their successors to emulate the deeds of the heroes.

Citations a l'Ordre.

Owing to the activity of the German intelligence department with its vast network of spies, and the necessity to avoid affording the enemy any clue to the position and nature of the troops opposed to him at any specific point, the War Offices of the Allies have covered the doings of the various units of the Army with a veil of secrecy which is seldom lifted. I am, however, permitted to definitely name the following battalions, and to quote the following "citations" as specimens of the appreciation by the High Command of the deeds of "Les Tirailleurs."

"The 61st Senegalese Battalion specially distinguished itself on the 9th and 19th of July, 1916 by the tenacity and vigor of its attacks. By severe fighting carried five successive lines of enemy trenches and a very strong position which it held in spite of furious counter-attacks by the enemy. Took 1,000 prisoners."

"The 36th Senegalese Battalion, on the 24th October, 1916, advanced to the attack of the German lines in perfect order, brilliantly carried the first enemy line, then reforming carried the objective assigned to it, after an energetic progress of more than two kilometres."

"The 29th Battalion of Senegalese Sharpshooters:—Under the orders of Commandant Champel bore stoically and without shelter very violent bombardment during one day and two nights, then on the 17th April, 1917, in spite of serious losses, sprang forward to the assault of an almost inaccessible enemy position three times, calling forth cries of admiration from the next regiment, entered it and maintained itself there."

Where They Sleep

Along the territory stretching from the North Sea to Alsace, which for three years has been the scene of the Titanic struggles of this war, there stretches a Via Dolorosa marked by the cemeteries where the brave, who have fallen for freedom, rest in their last sleep. The piety of future generations of French men, and especially of French women, will maintain these

sad, yet proud, memorials. Here, on All Souls' Day in each year, they will come to celebrate the "Messe des Morts," to shed a tear for the brave who nobly fell, to lay a flower on the Earth which holds them in her bosom, or to pay the passing tribute of a sigh for the young, and beautiful, and the brave who offered themselves a sacrifice on the altar of the Fatherland. These died for home and hearth

WITH THE FRENCH ARMY

The Chicago Defender, Jan. 26, 1918.



Photo copyright Underwood & Underwood

Soldiers from territories governed by France sighting enemy positions. Both of these men have been made officers as a reward for their knowledge and bravery—France knows no color.

Europe

Responsibility in War Brings New Trial to Negro

Black Troops With Britain and France Play Important Part in Conflict—Loyalty of Race Here Will Win Greater Social and Economic Freedom, Leaders of the Race Believe

NEW YORK TRIBUNE
JANUARY 3, 1918

By William A. Aery

HAMPTON, Va., Feb. 2.—Colored men are asking, not infrequently, What has the negro to do with the war? Whether the negro wills it or not, the war has to do with him.

There are no negroes to whom the future is more significant than to the ten million negroes in the United States. No group has already been affected by the war more than they have. Their development is fraught with possibly more significance than that of the negroes of any other country. Their economic and social attainments set the standards for the negroes of the world.

Africa a Torch

Africa has become the spark to set Europe ablaze. Call to mind the fiery clashes between England and France at Fashoda; between Italy and Turkey in Tripoli; between England and Portugal in Delagoa Bay; between England, Germany and the Dutch in South Africa, and between Germany and France at Agadir and Algeiras. "A place in the sun" spells for Europe expansion in the African tropics and zones of influence in negroland.

Whatever the immediate causes of the war may have been, in the background there stood the negro, a silent, compelling influence; but the negro was not long silent or apart once the fight had begun. He threw himself into the struggle with characteristic forgetfulness of himself and his wrongs. We believe that he will come out of the maelstrom with right and advantage on his side.

Negro Fighters

The issue seems squarely drawn between autocracy and democracy. Over this issue it looks as if the world is willing to fight to the death. As in our great American struggle, the negro is found on both sides in the fight. He is preponderantly, however, on

mulattoes from Martinique—fighting for France, giving their blood and life for France.

"French colonists all these are. It is the first time that what are called 'inferior peoples,' 'aborigines' and 'subject races' have rushed instinctively to the defence of the power supposed to have subjugated them.

"But 'inferior peoples'! In the French system there are no 'inferior peoples.' All the peoples of all the lands where the French flag waves are free, equal and brothers. They are citizens of the French Republic, exactly like all other citizens.

"That is why there is this extraordinary and touching response. The colonial policy of the French Republic has covered the name of France with imperishable glory. France has been not only kind and good to her aborigines, but she has made them citizens, equal and free. Now, in her hour of need, they come to lay down their lives for her—France the broadminded, France the democratic!"

General Maunoury's army, that played so conspicuous a part in turning the tide in the Battle of the Marne that saved Paris and France, was composed largely of colonial troops from Africa.

Two hundred and sixty-four personal citations for bravery have been won by negro soldiers of a single Somali battalion since it landed in France in 1916. One hundred and ninety of these were won in the furious battles of the Aisne and Verdun.

Negro Migration

The ten million negroes in America were more affected than any other element in America, even before the United States entered the war. Better opportunities opened for the negro in the north. There he was able to get better wages, find a place in the hitherto closed industries, prove his skill and worth, secure better educational facilities for his children and obtain better general treatment in living conditions, transportation and civic affairs.

The effect of the world war upon the negro in the United States may be summed up as follows:

The war emphasizes his citizenship and his economic value as a food producer, laborer and mechanic. The country now recalls the negro's loyalty in the past and the fact that now there are no negro slackers.

The negro's worth as a soldier has been emphasized. The negro's ready response in the enlistment has won general approval. The negro's physical showing made during the enlistment refutes many old charges. Of the thirteen hundred negroes, for example, who were examined by army surgeons for the officers' training camp at Des Moines, only five showed any traces of venereal infection.

The negro, while realizing the great seriousness of war, has gone off to training and to the front with joyousness in the midst of general gloom. The common cause and the common danger have awakened feelings of brotherhood.

Georgia towns have given dinners to the black selected men as they have to the whites. The Mayor of Athens, Ga., publicly thanked negroes for their loyal response. He also thanked the negro registrars. The country is slowly overcoming its prejudices against the negro.

A Race on Trial

Negro soldiers carry a great responsibility. "If they prove themselves equals of the white race," says "The Chicago Tribune," "in point of discipline, self-restraint and courage, they will do a lot toward diminishing race prejudice."

The negro race is on trial. All must stand behind the black soldiers, to hearten and encourage them. Through loyalty and the "last full measure of devotion" the negro hopes to win not only freedom for America but full and unquestioned citizenship for himself.

African Regiment Is Record Breaker

PARIS, Aug. 2.—A capital story is published here which shows of what kind of stuff the men from Africa who are fighting here are made. A battalion of 600 men was drawn up for the distribution of medals and the question was raised by the visitor how many of them had been wounded.

It was a Moroccan battalion and as a means of settling the question the colonel ordered all those men who had been wounded five times to step forward. Forty-six left the ranks.

"Now those with four wounds," said the colonel, and seventy-five joined the forty-six.

"Those who have been wounded three times," and 194 stepped forth.

"Now, those with two wounds," the colonel said, and 101 came forward. As having one wound 182 presented themselves.

Five hundred and ninety-eight out of 600 were thus accounted for. That left two, who hung their heads and literally wept amid the laughter of their comrades, in which the visitor joined.

"Wait a moment," said the colonel, and going up to the two men he comforted them, saying, "Don't weep, my children, it is not your fault that you have not been wounded," and pulling aside the straps carrying their packs, which passed across their chests, he showed that each of the men who had never been wounded wore the ribbon of the war cross, one with three palms and the other with two.

"Those two," he said, "have received finer mention in orders than any others in the regiment."

AFRICAN TROOPS IN WAR

Used Against Germans, They Display Great Bravery

Paris, May 3.—African colonials, which have been thrown into action against the advancing Germans, have conducted themselves with the most conspicuous bravery, according to the Petit Parisien today.

"For six days, four battalions of African Zouaves held back five German divisions, one of which was from the imperial guard," the dispatch stated.

"Outflanked, the Zouaves, led by Battalion Commander Du Peuty,

charged straight into the face of the German mitrailleuses, Du Peuty, badly wounded, being assisted by two poilus. All three fell before the murderous fire, but the Zouaves cleared the positions, retaking lost ground. A brother of Commander Du Peuty, acting as an observer was lost in the same engagement."

EIGHTH REGIMENT NEWS

Newport News, Va., April 5.—Fine weather, but much sickness in camp at present, even the writer has had chills and fevers the past week. * Mrs. Binga Dismond, wife of First Lieut. Binga Dismond, is visiting with us. * Mrs. Sims, mother of First Lieut. Harry Murphy and Mrs. Allen, mother of Private John Allen of Co. F, are here from Chicago and are certainly enjoying themselves. We had a "singfest" last Thursday afternoon and had an enjoyable time. * Miss Edna Edwards Chicago is visiting Mechanic Duncan S. Snowden of Co. F. Mrs. Matthew Jenkins wife of Corporal Matthews Jenkins also of Co. F, is here on a visit. * Mrs. Brock, wife of Sergeant Brock of the Supply Co., is visiting her husband at Camp Stuart. * Sergeant E. A. Tooke of Co. F has been ill the past week with a touch of malaria. * Mrs. Alma Givens, wife of Dr. R. Q. Givens of Norfolk, Va., together with a party of friends were visitors at Camp Stuart last week. Call again. * Capt. Roche of the S. S. Damon sends greetings to all Race people. The writer had the pleasure of meeting Capt. Rocha last week at a luncheon given by Miss Dandridge 564 1/2 E. 26th street, Newport News. He is a Race man and lives in Portugal. He has been captain nine years. The liner Damon is of 11,000 tons displacement and plys between Cardiff, Wales and Newport News, Va. * Sergeants Hunley, Johnson, Milsap, Woodward and Tooke, all of Co. F were visitors in Hampton the past week. * Sergeant Irvin R. Webster is still on the sick list. Corporal Ogilvie, Privates Ed. Jefferson, Bossie Hannah, Davenport, Harry White and Amos Bennett of Co. F, are in the hospital. * Private Hart of Co. E died last Thursday of pneumonia. * A vaudeville theater has reopened at Camp Stuart and is known as the Camp Stuart theater. * The 370th Inf. (Old 8th), regimental baseball team played the 372nd regimental baseball team and the result was highly edifying to second baseman Bauchman (ex-Fosterite), who plays with the Eighth now. * Privates Floyd Sluter and Arthur George have been transferred to the 502nd Engineers, known as the "stevedore" regiment. * Many examinations are being undergone and some of us may be on State street soon with an Scd. * Subscribe for the Defender and keep in touch with "your boys." * The writer had the pleasure of meeting Miss Iola Sumner, 1241 E. 29th street, Newport News. She is a teacher and he is very much impressed. Nuf ced. * The Third Platoon of Co. F is in a class by itself, so says its leader, and he ought to know. Sh! Hush! Who is he? St. George Proctor. * Those who wish to read periodicals such as the Chicago Defender may get them by calling at Block 4, No. 1, weekly. * Oysters are served here at 45 cents per doz., fried. How'd you like to be here? * More next week. Watch this column for newsy news.

Former Member of The '24th' Wins French Medal for Bravery

Advocate March 16/18
BUFFALO N.Y. NEWS
APRIL 2, 1918

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—According to a Paris dispatch to the Philadelphia Bulletin, Francis Kane, a powerful, six-foot Negro, formerly a soldier in the Twenty-fourth United States infantry, but now fighting in the French army, and whose home is in Chicago, has arrived in Paris after many stirring experiences. He has been wounded five times, but is still undaunted. His adventures started immediately he left America, when he caught a spy with three valises loaded with explosives with which the man was about to blow up the steamship. For this Kane received the red, white and blue salvage medal.

Enlisting in the French army in August, 1914, he was in a battle four miles from Rheims when a German rifle bullet traversed his leg. He received another leg wound at Rheims in March, 1915; when exhausted and cold he spent eighteen hours on the ground with nothing to eat. After being sent to Algeria for convalescence, he next took part in the Dardanelles expeditions under General Gouraud.

The French advanced more than four miles to Sedul Bahr, where they were forced to entrench. Here he was twice wounded. He was attended by English doctors and his skull trepanned. He was wounded the fifth time before Monastir. At this place his arm was broken.

Kane was visited in the hospital at Saloniki by General Sarraill and was proposed for the military medal. He has three colonial medals for bravery and distinguished conduct.

While fighting in the trenches in France, Kane's captain told him to take two men, cross "No Man's Land," and bring back a prisoner, as certain information was needed. Kane went alone at night, and covered by a coat of straw he lay quiet each time an illuminating rocket exploded. He advanced slowly until he finally jumped into the German trench, grabbed the first Teuton he saw and rushed back. Kane, who was born in Baton Rouge, La., and is about to return to Saloniki, says: "I am seeking only to do my duty."

FRENCH NEGRO TROOPS RETREAT WHEN GASSED

Canadians Filled in Gaps,
Says Major McCormack Before the Kiwanis Club.

Major Carson McCormack, who went overseas to war with the first Canadian contingent and who has been wounded several times in action, last night at the Hotel Statler spoke to members of the Kiwanis club on his battle experiences, particularly in the second engagement at Ypres.

"The first we knew that Fritz was using gas was when the French zouaves, negro troops, swarmed back to our battalion, which was in reserve," said Major McCormack. "The zouaves were in great disorder and were chattering in French. Many of them fell as they retreated. We were ordered to fill in the gap that the zouaves had left. Two of our battalions were wiped out by the gas."

"For the next ten days we held the line on our nerve and had the Germans known it, I think that they could have gone through to Calais." The major said that it was a physical impossibility to live in the trenches when the Germans were shooting the gas over because the gas, being heavier than air, settled in the trenches. He said that the men hugged the trench walls with their heads almost buried in the earth.

In September, 1915, Major McCormack was invalided home. In June, 1916, he returned to the fight. He fought at Passchendaele ridge. Later he returned to Canada upon the death of his mother and father. When he was about to return again to France he was given a special detail to carry word of the war to the Four Minute Men, so that they could better bring home to the American people the actualities of the struggle.

Major Walter L. Bell, who is on a recruiting mission for the 27th United States army division, of which the Buffalo national guard commands are a part, talked briefly of his work. John D. Wells of the NEWS read several of his poems. Short talks were made by John S. Embleton and John C. Bradley.

A BLACK MAN ABROAD.

In a recent letter from Madrid, Spain, Mr. Daniel T. Bradley relates the following incident: *The New York*

A few days ago, while in Lisbon at the hotel where I was stopping, I met a black man (black as the proverbial ace), who was one of the most polished and affable gentlemen I have ever met, thoroughly informed on all the current topics of the day. This man, a native of Martinique, is the residential representative in Freetown, Africa, of a large corporation in England, and was at that time on his way to London to make his yearly report and consult with the directors of his concern. This man could converse fluently in English, French, German, Spanish and Portuguese.

FRENCH AFRICAN CHIEFS VISITS

WAR FRONTS

Daily Herald Feb. 16/1918.
Reviewed African Labor, Battalions and Enlisted Men on Firing Line

Somewhere in France, Feb. 13.—

At the invitation extended them by the Entente Allies two prominent African chiefs are now making an extensive tour of inspection and review along the firing line in France, and the Negro labor battalions. It was the first time that official representatives of the great African tribes have been so honored.

The object of the tour of inspection of the labor battalions was to see how the Negro laborers were treated. They were very favorably impressed by the hospitality extended them, and the treatment accorded the natives.

The French are expecting them to take back an interesting report to the chiefs and tribes on the wonders and terrors of scientific warfare.

HEROISM OF THE NEGRO "OVER THERE"

The Nashville Globe
DR. MARCEL KNECHT TO ADDRESS MEETING—DATE TO BE FIXED—\$2,000,000 TO BE RAISED BY COMFORT COMMITTEE.

Special to the Nashville Globe.

Washington, D. C., April 9, 1918.—Dr. Marcel Knecht, a member of the French High Commission, with headquarters at the Vanderbilt Hotel, New York City, an eloquent orator and statesman of puality, has accepted an invitation to address a patriotic meeting to be held in this city at an early date, under the auspices of the National Colored Comfort Committee, of which Ralph W. Tyler, former auditor for the Navy Department, is national secretary. Dr. Knecht's theme will be "The Heroic Effort of Colored Soldiers in France." He has already spoken to large audiences of colored citizens in Cleveland, Cincinnati and New York. Elaborate preparations are being made for his reception here.

The main objective of the National Colored Soldiers' Comfort Committee is to raise a fund of \$2,000,000 to aid the dependents of colored soldiers called to the front. Prof. Kelly Miller, of Howard University, is president of the organization, and J. C. Napier of Nashville, Tenn., former register of the Treasury, is national treasurer. Dr. Knecht has been so impressed by his observation of the colored fighters under the fire of the foe, in actual conflict that he is anxious to lend a hand in the effort of the race to help the loved ones these men have left behind in this land.

COLORED BRITISH

SUBJECTS TO ENLIST

IN BRITISH ARMY

Review
Will Be Accepted for Service at the British and Canadian Mission.

Owing to the limited number of colored battalions of the British army overseas, and the great number of colored subjects volunteering for service in England during the war, the recruiting of colored British subjects residing in the United States, between the ages of 18 and 45 years, has been limited, though many have volunteered, accepted and dispatched daily to the training camps in Canada by the British and Canadian Recruiting Mission, 220 West Forty-second street, New York city.

Yesterday, Major C. Brooman White, officer commanding, emphasized the value of the colored soldiers in the British army by stating he had received the authority to enlist at once all colored British subjects for service in the British army, between the ages of 18 and 45 years.

Applicants must speak and understand the English language, and be not prohibited by their religious rights

from eating the ordinary British army rations. All applicants must be British subjects and must fulfill the requirements of the medical examination, including the above. By so doing, they will be accepted for any branch of the British army they choose to enlist in, going into the same units for which white recruits are accepted, and will receive the same rate of pay as the white recruits.

The British Colonial Club, with headquarters at 453 Lenox avenue, New York city, an organization devoted to the unification of British colonial subjects residing in the United States, has offered its services to Major White, and with his consent have established a branch office at the British and Canadian Recruiting Mission, 220 West Forty-second street, to assist in the recruiting of British West Indians, under the personal direction of Fitz W. Mottley, organizer, supplying all applicants with necessary information upon request.

SHIP WITH COLORED

CAPTAIN COMES HERE

Avonmouth Tribune
Newport News—What is perhaps the only case of its kind on record in the history of Newport News is the arrival of a large steamship here, in command of a colored captain—Custodia Rocha, by name, of Portuguese ancestry. The ship which is now plying between this port and England in carrying munitions and food to the Allies, is named "Damao."

5-20-18
Captain Rocha has many friends among the colored residents of the city, and was made acquainted with Col. Matt. N. Lewis, who is customs inspector at this port, while in the city Sunday.

Capt. Rocha has an entire white crew under his command, from the wireless operator down.—The Star.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
APRIL 20, 1918

ENLIST BRITISH NEGROES

Twenty a Week Being Enrolled at Station Here

Negro British subjects to the number of 20 per week are being enrolled for service at the British recruiting office, Sixteenth and Chestnut streets, according to instructions received at the office yesterday. An average of 10 per day, principally negroes from the Bermuda and Bahama Islands, have applied for enlistment during the past several weeks, and these have been examined and data regarding them recorded. None of these, however, were enlisted until the order to that effect calling for negroes to be enrolled was received. Total enlistments at the British recruiting office are approximately 20 per day now.

France's Colonial Soldiers Make Enviably Record of Service in the World's Greatest Conflict

The New York Age.
Many Receive "Citations a l'Ordre" for Deeds
of Bravery Under Fire.

(By W. F. Hutchinson.)

(With African Times and Orient Review, London, England.)

France's Colonial Soldiers.

Besides the native soldiers from French West Africa and the Congo, there are in active service against the Germans natives of Somaliland in East Africa, from the great Island of Madagascar, and from Annam in the far East of Asia.

The Malagassies.

Long before the war the military qualities of the Malagasy peoples, the Makes, the Sakalaves, and the Baras had been appreciated by so able a commander, and administrator as General Gallieni. Hardy, capable of performing the longest marches and sustaining the greatest fatigues, thanks to the sobriety which maintains their physical vigor, the first battalion of the Malagasy Sharpshooters (Tirailleurs) had been recognized as a crack regiment, and on the 14th of July, 1913, had been solemnly presented with the tricolor flag, the sign and testimony of France's confidence in their courage and fidelity.

Some of the Malagasy units are in the fighting line, while others are employed at the depots and on the lines of communication. This latter employment does not always accord with the warlike instincts of an ancient race of fighters. One ardent warrior, disgusted at being told to break pebbles for the roads, deserted, taking his quick-firing gun with him, and on the morning of the 16th of April applied to the colonel commanding battalion No. — "to be employed together with his gun."

The Annamites up to the present have only been employed as auxiliaries in the great industries necessary to supply the enormous demands of modern warfare, and in the services of supply, more or less behind the firing line. In many towns throughout France they are employed in factories, arsenals, and machine shops, where the delicacy and adaptability of their hands make them dex-

terous and skillful manipulators of the complex machinery of up-to-date production. Large numbers are employed as draughtsmen, in which capacity their artistic bent makes them most adept. They have also become skillful at motor driving. In Albania and Macedonia, along the roads from Florina to Monastir, these plucky little soldiers can be seen driving the motor ambulances.

The battalion raised in February, 1916, has since been joined by two others, and today the Annamites, alert, intelligent and industrial, are to be seen in the enormous depots of the military railroad, which have sprung up everywhere behind the firing line, unloading trains and filling lorries and carts with grenades, shells, victuals and the endless requirements of a modern army. Clothed in khaki jackets and puttees, with helmets on their heads (for a shell may reach them, or an enemy aviator may drop bombs), superintended by corporals and sergeants of their own nationality, no labor is too hard or too difficult for their endurance or their skill, and no danger can retard or prevent its performance. Thus engaged, they are contributing as effectively to France's victory as if they were handling the deadly rifle or grenade, and France is as grateful to the Annamite toiling in factory or depot to "feed the war" as to any of her soldiers in the fighting ranks.

West Indians.

In the ranks of the Grand Army are many colored men from the French West Indian Islands of Martinique and Gadeloupe, and from French Guiana on the South American mainland. These are French citizens and in that capacity are enrolled in the European regiments on a footing of absolute equality with their fellow-citizens born in France. The only difference made is that the colored soldiers are sent into garrisons in Southern France or Algeria during the winter. In all other respects no distinction is made between them and the white soldiers.

Les Senegalais.

Of all the troops which France has drawn from her various colonies, it is

beyond doubt that the Senegalais, "Les Senegalais," have most struck the popular imagination, and draw the most regard in France, by their union of child-like simplicity with soldierly qualities and indomitable courage. Once trained and inured to discipline, no troops are easier to lead. Their discipline and sang-froid are as great under fire as on parade, and their devotion to their duty knows no limit save death. What has most struck those who have seen them in actual battle has been the spirit of discipline which animates their intrepidity and renders their attacks so effective. To see them carry a position by assault, then seize and organize it, is sufficient to satisfy the most critical of military observers that they are worthy to meet the most terrible, the most skillful and the most tenacious of enemies.

At the Ravine of La Fausse Cote.

On the evening of the 23rd of October, 1916, the Senegalese battalion arrived in the Verdun sector to take part in the struggle for Fort Douaumont. After a long march they spent the night among the ruins of the village of Fleury. The night was cold and shell-craters and fragments of walls were the only shelter. Roused in the morning by the pale and misty dawn and the bursting shells of the enemy artillery, stiff with cold, but eager for the fray, their officers had trouble to hold in their men until the time appointed for their advance. When that time came they marched in lines of squadrons at 25 paces in interval and 50 distance, in the impeccable alignment of a gala field day in spite of the nature of the ground, riven by months of bombardment into the semblance of a stormy sea, covered with corpses, fragments of barbed wire and the debris of many hard fought battles, under a mist so thick that the squadron leaders had to guide themselves by the compass. In this order they reached their first objective, deployed as skirmishers and, at the hour fixed, passed through the first line and sprang forward with distances and alignment as perfect as on parade. The squadron leaders themselves drew the attention of their men to this magnificent spectacle which was visible as far as Fort Douaumont. In this order they reached the "Tisza" trench, when suddenly their flank came under murderous fire from machine guns ensconced in a bay in the opposite slope about 20 metres from the right of the first company. The line was made to lie down. The fire stopped for a moment, then broke out again in front; the battalion advanced by leaps up to the crest looking down on the ravine of La Fausse Cote from the southwest. The mitraille from the opposing slope struck down every man who showed himself. The losses were becoming serious, and the line seemed to be held up. Seeing

that the position was critical, Captain Chauvin, commanding the first company, brought up the supports into line with the assaulting sections and, profiting by a movement of the units on his right, threw the whole company forward. They sprang to the assault, and Bugler Ambedious Baga, sounding "the charge" at the same moment, the left company was also drawn forward and the ravine traversed at the double. The first section sprang on the machine guns, and the gunners, stupefied at finding themselves surrounded, threw up their hands and surrendered. Sixty gunners and their weapons were the prize.

Calmly the — Senegalese battalion took possession of the position, posted their bombers and quick-firers to hold off counter attacks, and the sappers, spade in hand, turned the fortifications with a skill equal to that of the best engineers in Europe.

In the Order of the Day of the Grande Armee the — Senegalese battalion received the following mention:

"On the 24th October, 1916, advanced to the attack of the German lines in perfect order, brilliantly seized the enemy's first line, and then, re-forming, carried the principal objective assigned to them after a determined advance of more than two kilometres."

Captain Chauvin was awarded the cross of the Legion of Honor for his brilliant leadership.

From the long list of "mentions," I select two:

"Abdou Youssouf.—Although wounded, returned to the firing-line and displayed the highest qualities of bravery and courage."

"Moussou Dansako.—Corporal of Battalion No. —; four times took wounded to the dressing station and returned to the firing line, returned to his post after being wounded."

It has been falsely stated that the colored soldiers would not stand a bombardment. Their personal courage is indubitable and has been thoroughly proved, and like their European fellows, they have inured themselves to modern heavy artillery attacks, and endure it with calmness. They can even jest at. After a recent dose of "drum fire," one of them gained enormous pleasure by improvising a "dance of the flying bomb." The performer looked upwards, searching the sky, stared nervously at supposed explosion to right and left, crouched for shelter, rolled his eyes, pretended to be terribly frightened, and took poses of mimic terror which made his comrades roll on the ground in paroxysms of laughter. Yet only the night before the merry mockers had returned from the trenches, where for days they had been exposed to the real thing!

A Record of Service.

On the 1st of March, 1916, a battalion was organized at Saint Raphael from veterans of the previous campaign and recruits recently arrived

from Africa. After three months' training, to give the necessary cohesion, the battalion was sent to the front on the 1st of June, and went into the trenches on the Oise, and then on the Somme, taking its part in all the battles.

At the end of October, the battalion went into winter quarters near Archachon, where it was put under "intense" training, and on the 19th of March, 1917, joined the armies of the North and Northeast on the line of the Aisne, where it was attached to a regiment of colonial infantry with which it took part in the spring offensive.

On the 16th and 17th of April it distinguished itself greatly at the farm of Noisy, the men dying at their posts rather than abandon the position which they had taken.

In May it served at Mill of Lafaux, and in June and July was in the trenches in the re-conquered part of Alsace.

During July-August it took part in the defense of the plateaux of Craonne and California and fought on the Chemin des Dames.

These names suffice to show that the battalion was always at the seat of the hottest fighting, and wherever it was called upon to serve, whether in attack or in defense, it attracted attention by its courage, devotion and self-sacrifice.

The quality of these gallant soldiers will be shown by a few quotations from the "citations a l'ordre" for a single day.

"Koft Alla, Private.—Cool and collected, courageously led his comrades on the 16th of April, 1917, to an assault of the enemy positions. Although wounded, continued to throw his bombs on a hostile machine gun and only left his post when his strength gave out."

"Moderi Combs, Private.—Very devoted and courageous; on the 16th of April, 1917, dressed, under fire, the wounds of his lieutenant and returned in particular."

"Demba N'Daigne, Private.—Very courageous; on the 16th of April, 1917, taking the quick firing gun of one of his wounded comrades, stopped by his fire an attempted bombing attack by the enemy."

"Mamadon N'Daigne, Sergeant.—On the 16th of April, 1917, distinguished himself among the bravest of those who advanced against a German counter attack and formed a first line of defense behind the barbed wire."

"Donga Thiam, Private.—On the 16th of April, 1917, being with a group of bombers and all his comrades having become casualties, continued alone to cast his bombs into the enemy's trench."

"Eli Diot, Corporal.—Showed remarkable courage in the attack on the enemy's lines on the 16th of April; remained at his post, although seriously wounded, and never ceased to encourage his comrades."

WITH FRANCE'S FIGHTING LEGION



Photo by Underwood & Underwood

The Chicago Defender April 20, 1918
Colonial Troops in the service of France fighting on French soil under Gen. Foch

They have been repeatedly mentioned for bravery and many have been made officers.

A CONGO CAMOUFLAGE

The Guardian

—COMBINATION OF BELGIAN COLORS HELPS THE SALES OF BLACKING.

May 11, 1918.

Paris, May 6, 1918.—A coal-black Negro, a citizen of the Belgian Congo, dressed completely in red, propelling a push cart painted yellow, may be seen on the boulevards of Brussels, says *ibre Belique*, the Belgian newspaper which the Germans have been unable to suppress. The Negro is selling shoe polish. Belgians who still possess shoes take great pleasure in buying from him.

He is doing a rushing business and will probably continue to do so until it filters through the German's thick cranium that the quality of the shoe polish is not the reason for popularity with purchasers, but because as he perambulates down the boulevards his black visage, red costume and yellow cart represent a living Belgian flag.

Then it will be the "Kommandantur" and the cool shade of St. Gilles prison for the black, red and yellow man.

COLORED MILLIONAIRE IN N.Y.C. GLOBE FRANCE—ENTERTAINS BOYS FROM THE TRENCHES

The Christian Record

George B. Lancy, in a recent article in the *Favorite Magazine*, of Chicago, which is edited by Fenton Johnson, the poet, tells of M. Louis de Lancour, a colored millionaire, who lives in a magnificent stone mansion on the Boulevard de St. Antoine, Paris. He is a man in his forties and is said to be worth thirty million dollars in American money. He is light complexioned with black eyes, heavy lips and a shaggy mane of hair. His wife is the daughter of a rich Lyons merchant.

He is very patriotic and recently entertained at dinner over two hundred soldiers, including Negroes, Slavs, Celts and Anglo-Saxons.

Monsieur Louis de Lancour was the son of a French soldier, who left him a hundred thousands francs. His wife, the daughter of a Lyons silk manufacturer brought him an equal amount as a dowry. Two years before the war he bought a bankrupt munitions factory and made considerable money supplying the Balkan nations with war materials, and when the present war broke out, his business more than trebled. There is talk of sending Monsieur Lancour to the French Parliament.

Colored Fighters in 1870.

Editor *Globe*: Your editorial comment on the absurd German propaganda in France against American Negro soldiers is to the point.

Supplementing your remarks let me say that in the last Franco-Prussian war Negro troops from Algeria, nicknamed "Turcos," took a very important part in the fighting. At the battle of Woerth, near Strasbourg, the Turcos fought like lions. Marshal MacMahon praised them publicly on the battlefield. The people of my native city, to-day the capital of Alsace-Lorraine, welcomed these brave soldiers on their arrival at Strasbourg at the beginning of August, 1870, and during their short stay with us they were feasted and toasted by the civilians as if they were their own flesh and blood.

German propagandists must find something else to foment dissension among the allies.

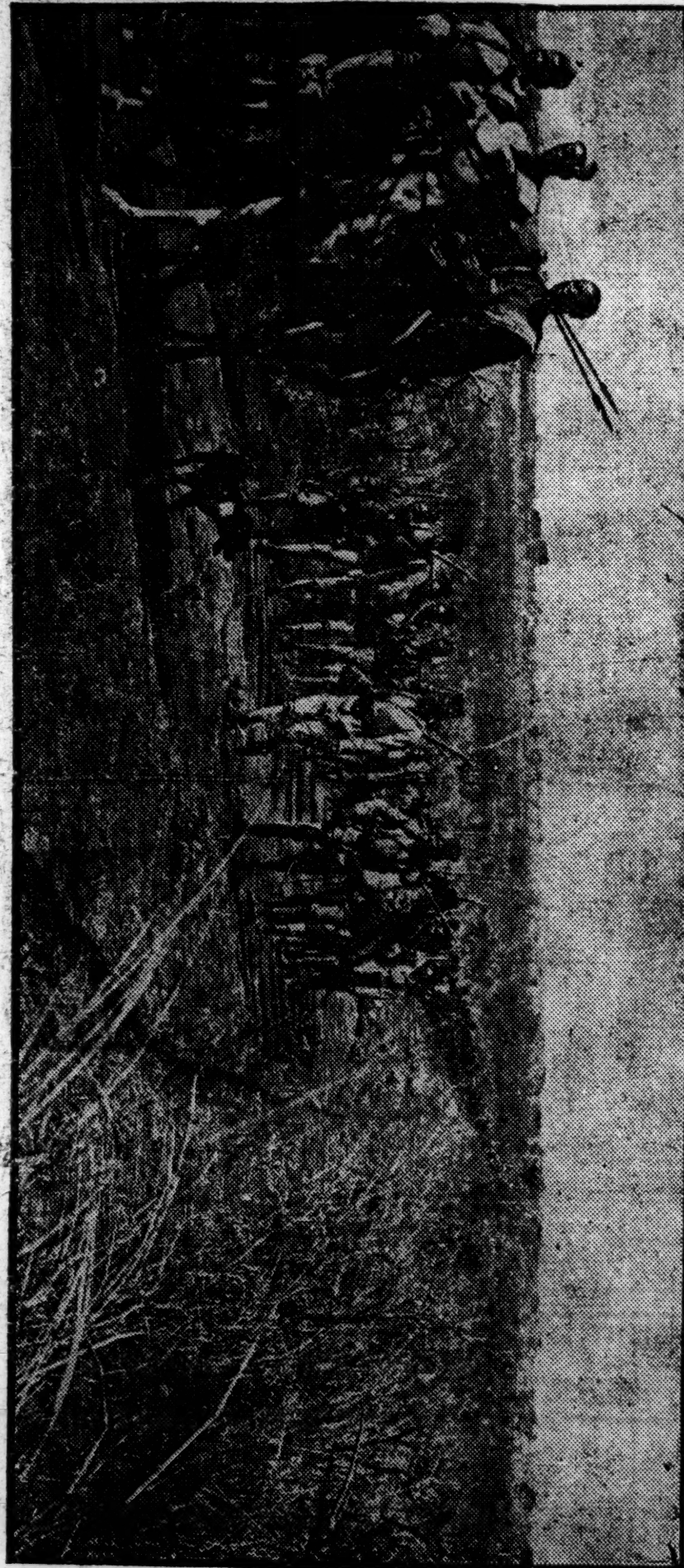
In the mean time Foch and Halg are pushing ahead while the American troops are watching from the Vosges Mountains our beautiful Alsace, whose population is ready to greet them and to kiss them as their liberators.

JONAS LIPPMANN,

Editor the *Voice of Alsace-Lorraine*, New York, Aug. 28.

A company of French colonial troops on the march to lend aid to their French brothers in driving back the Huns. These troops are officered by men from their own ranks who are commissioned by the French government according to their ability and worth in military affairs and activities. They are dreaded by the German foe.

Photo, Underwood & Underwood.



FRENCH COLONIAL TROOPS GOING TO AID THEIR BROTHERS
The Chicago Defender 9-14-18.

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"NOTHING STABLE IN NATION THAT CHANGES ITS LEADERS EVERY 4 YEARS!" SAID KAISER

"You Can't Expect the Nations of the World to Deal With America as They Deal Among Themselves When the Next Change of Administration May Mean an Entirely New Foreign Policy!" He told Dr. Davis—Deeply interested in American Institutions and a Close Student of Conditions Here, He Surprised the Dentist by His Knowledge of Our Affairs—Why He Declined on Two Occasions to Receive Bryan.

N Y C WORLD
AUGUST 7, 1918

In his article published to-day Dr. Arthur Davis, who was the Kaiser's dentist from 1904 to 1918, describes the deep interest in America and her institutions evinced by the German Emperor. His conversations with the dentist revealed that he was a close student of our political system and of our statesmen, and that he was thoroughly posted on American conditions, on matters in everyday life as well as those pertaining to international affairs. One phase of progress in the United States impressed him with a spirit of envy—the great accomplishments of our inventors.

By Dr. Arthur Davis.

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Among the Germans generally there is a surprising degree of ignorance regarding conditions in America. The untravelled German has but the vaguest ideas concerning our people and our institutions. I have had patients of intelligence and education ask me how we are able to cope with the Indians! In view of the extent of German emigration to America and the vast volume of commercial transactions between the two countries, it is almost unbelievable that such erroneous notions should prevail in these

the fire sometimes spread to the uncut timber. As the facilities for extinguishing fire in these unpopulated regions was practically nil, and the climate made the timber particularly inflammable, these fires usually attained serious dimensions.

"That points out again the inefficiency of your form of government," he commented. "You have laws requiring the railways to use appliances to arrest the sparks from their engines, haven't you? Why don't you enforce them? Your people don't seem to realize that it takes years to grow a tree. Because you have more than you need to-day you make no provision for to-morrow. For every tree cut down another should be planted. If you don't adopt some such measure, the time will surely come when America will have to turn to Germany for timber."

Another illustration of the Kaiser's familiarity with our national problems was afforded in a remark he made at the time of our financial panic in 1907, which he said should never have been possible.

"Poor Miss Farrar, your opera singer, has been telling me she lost every penny she had in your Knickerbocker Bank failure. The men who caused that panic would go to prison mighty quick if we had them in Germany, I can tell you. I have read that eleven of your bank presidents committed suicide. Just think of it! Eleven bank presidents! These things should not be, Davis; but you will continue to have these panics from time to time until you adopt a banking system with a central bank, such as we have."

The establishment of the Federal Reserve Bank system in this country, one of the most important measures adopted under President Wilson, carried us successfully through the financial stress and strain of the world-war, and shows how thoroughly the Kaiser understood the workings and requirements of our national banking arrangements.

Our Elections Didn't Suit.

The Kaiser was a harsh critic of our election system. The idea of a four-year term for the President was naturally repugnant to one who held such exalted notions as to the rights of rulers.

He declared that with a constant change of Administration it was quite out of the question for this country to follow any definite policy. It was bad enough even so far as internal affairs were concerned, he said, but such a system made it impossible, he thought, for America ever to take a prominent part in international politics.

"You can't expect the nations of the world to deal with America as they

deal among themselves, when the next change of Administration may mean the adoption of an entirely new foreign policy," he declared. "There can be nothing stable about the foreign policy of a nation whose leaders change every four years."

Bryan Met Kaiser's Rebuff.

American party-politics were a constant source of embarrassment to the Kaiser. He always seemed undecided as to just how he should receive an American of prominence. If he happened to be of the same political faith as the Administration, the Kaiser was afraid to do him too much honor for fear of offending the opposing party, who might win the next election; and if he were not of the same party as the Administration, the Kaiser feared to honor him lest more immediate resentment be stirred up in America. Thus he refused to receive Bryan on two different occasions when a Republican Administration was in power.

He criticised very strongly, too, our election methods.

"Instead of discussing principles, your political candidates exchange personalities," he said. "My people would be shocked at the sort of speeches and accusations which figure in all your political campaigns. Over here, nothing of the kind is ever heard."

The Kaiser was very much interested in our negro problem. It seemed to have a great fascination for him, and he frequently referred to it. He told me that he understood there were 15,000,000 negroes in this country, but they were dying off in great numbers through consumption and other diseases, to which they offered but poor resistance.

"The negro will always be a great problem in your country, however," he added. "They don't mix socially with the whites, and there will be constant friction. My brother (Prince Henry), when he returned from his visit to America, told me a lot about these negroes. Indeed, one of the most impressive things he heard there was a choir of negro voices. He said they sang some wonderful melodies, and their voices were as clear as bells."

Settling Negro Problem.

After the war started, the Kaiser referred to the negroes again.

"Now is your chance to settle your negro problem," he declared, half facetiously, of course. "If America insists upon coming into the war, why doesn't she send her negroes across and let us shoot them down?"

When a fleet of our battleship visited Kiel some six years ago the Kaiser paid them a visit and was very much interested. It was reported at the time that he had even crawled

through the coal bunkers to study the construction of the hold of one of the vessels, which is quite consistent with his usual practice. He is too vain to imagine that any member of his naval staff could possibly acquire more valuable information in an investigation of that kind than he could himself. Incidentally, a tour of inspection of this character gave him an opportunity to discuss matters with his officers with some degree of accuracy.

When he called to see me shortly afterward he told me of his experience.

Fighting Masts for Tea.

"I went over the ships from top to bottom," he declared. "They are excellent vessels, every one of them, and I was very much impressed with the way they were manned and officered. I have only one criticism—the lattice-work conning towers, or fighting masts. The only possible use I can see in them would be to train vines on them and install an elevator inside, and serve tea in the afternoon to the ladies on top—the most beautiful place for serving afternoon tea I can imagine."

"But, seriously speaking," he went on, "I can't see that these masts have any practical value. On the contrary, I can see very serious disadvantages in them. No matter what nation you might be fighting, your enemy would always be able to recognize you at a distance, before you could identify him, because the warships of all other nations look very much alike at a distance."

"They say these conning towers are armed," he went on, "but you would never get close enough to your enemy to use such small guns. Again, if one of those masts were hit it would send a shower of steel about the heads of the men on board, and would not only put many of them out of action, but would be in the way. Suppose, too, the mast were struck down and hung over the side? It would drag through the water, and would not only seriously impede the vessel, but it would cause the ship to list and expose a larger area on one side than would be safe. No, Davis, your fighting masts, as I have said, might answer first-rate for serving tea, but I don't think much of them for active service."

Studied Our Food Supply.

But if the Kaiser saw much in American ways and customs to condemn, he likewise saw much to commend, and before the war he was liberal in his praise of many of our qualities and achievements.

He was very much interested, for instance, in the experiments and discoveries of Luther Burbank. To make Germany self-supporting as far as

food resources were concerned was one of his dearest ambitions. He realized that in the event of a world war his people would probably suffer more from lack of food than they would from hostile bullets, and he was hoping that he would be able to obviate that condition before his country was put to the test. He was constantly preaching simplified diet and the conservation of food reserves, and he had great hopes that much could be done in a scientific way to help solve general food problems. When attending dinners given him by his officers, his wishes respecting simple menus were always carefully followed.

Oranges and Loganberry.

A case of extremely large seedless oranges was sent to me from Florida one year, and I showed the Kaiser one of them. It was so large he thought it was a grapefruit, and he expressed his admiration for the attainments of men who could thus coax nature into excelling herself for the common good.

I told him of the loganberry which had been developed in the West, and he sent a representative to me afterward to ascertain how a sample could be secured for experimental purposes. He said he would plant it in the Royal Experimental Gardens and ascertain if it was feasible to grow the berries in Germany. The proprietor of a large delicatessen store told me that the Kaiser had sent a representative to him to purchase some loganberry jelly, and had been told that I called it to the Kaiser's attention.

Before the war, I suggested to the Kaiser that it might be of mutual advantage to my country and Germany to arrange for an exchange of medical and dental professors, and he was very much taken with the idea. He sent Dr. von Illberg, his private physician and a doctor in the German Army, to see me about the project, and I was asked to lay out a plan for consideration. At about the same time he asked me to recommend any changes that might occur to me that would add to the efficiency of the wonderful dental institute at the University of Berlin. The breaking out of war, however, put an end to these projects of peace.

The Kaiser enjoyed American humor. He was very fond of Mark Twain, and he followed one or two of the American monthlies and weeklies more or less regularly. He told me that, one evening while in his sitting-room in the Berlin palace, reading something in an American magazine, he ran across a story which caused him to laugh so much and so loud that the ladies of the court, who heard him in an adjacent room, came running in with their knitting to see what the matter was. The Kaiser had little respect for

our architecture. He thought our skyscrapers, of which he had seen illustrations, were hideous.

"How terrible to desecrate the landscape with such tall buildings," he commented. "They hurt the eye. How can people live in them?"

Envied Our Inventions.

Perhaps the quality that he envied most in us was our inventive genius. When Orville Wright was flying at Tempelhof Field, in Berlin, in the early days of aviation, the Kaiser could not restrain his admiration.

"I wish I could encourage my people to become great inventors, such as America has produced," he declared, rather hopelessly. "I admire your wonderful inventive genius."

If the Germans could not duplicate our inventions, they were quick enough to realize their value and adopt them. Almost as soon as Wright's demonstration was seen to be a success, a company was organized in Germany to build them under the Wright patent, and the Germans have continued to push aviation ever since. Just before I left Germany I heard from one of the highest military officials that they had just perfected an aeroplane with six motors that could accomplish more than had ever been dreamed of. "It will carry twelve passengers," he said, "and it will carry enough fuel to make the trip to New York and back and still have enough left to reach New York again." Since my return home I have read that just such a machine was shot down on the French border recently.

The Kaiser's peculiar interest in our red Indians was somewhat surprising. He frequently asked me about them, and was particularly interested in their diet. He had an idea that they were for the most part vegetarians. Perhaps the fact that he was not much of a meat eater himself aroused his interest in the primitive Americans who seemed to thrive on vegetable diet. While the Kaiser ate a certain amount of white meat, he never ate dark or red meat, and at night he made his meal almost entirely of fruit. He was fond of fish and said it produced brain, as it is a fine brain food, adding laughingly, "it is too bad the majority of people don't eat fish entirely."

High Pay for Operatic Stars.

The Kaiser objected very much to the fact that many of the foreign opera singers were attracted to New York by reason of the fabulous sums paid them at the Metropolitan Opera House.

"It is ridiculous to pay the same singers receive in New York," he complained. "It simply spoils the singers for us. Why, I understand that Caruso and other artists are paid

anywhere from \$2,000 to \$3,000 per night, while the biggest salary ever paid in Berlin is \$25,000 a year. The worst of it is that while the nouveau-ric in America have the money to entice the singers away from Europe they haven't the education to understand what they are singing about. We get even with them, though, by engaging American singers, who are glad to come to the Berlin Royal Opera for a moderate salary because of the experience and prestige they get, and their voices are not much inferior to the European singers who command such ridiculous salaries in your country."

"The Anglo-Saxons worship mammon, and they try to gloss it all over with a show of religion," he said. "Your rich Americans have so much money, Davis, that they really don't know what to do with it. Why, recently one of your millionaires saw my castle at Corfu and sent one of his representatives to the court with the presumptuous message, 'Please tell the Kaiser that I will buy his castle at Corfu, and ask him what's his price!' I had word sent back that the castle was not for sale. The American then told my representative that he wouldn't take 'no' for an answer. The cheek of the man! He said he didn't care how much it cost. I sent word back to that man that there were not enough dollars in the world to buy that castle. There are some things that your dollars won't buy, Davis, and one of them is my beautiful castle at Corfu!"

Later, when the island of Corfu was seized by the Allies and the Kaiser's castle was converted into a hospital for poor Serbian soldiers—some of the victims of his insatiable ambition—it occurred to me how appropriately his arrogance had been rebuked by the All Highest.

In his article to be published tomorrow Dr. Davis deals with the German people—"the most willing sales in the world," he calls them, and how they hold the Kaiser in veneration and awe.

ARMLESS AMERICAN IMPRESSES KAISER

"The Kaiser told me of an American, with both arms cut off nearly to the shoulder, who had patented an artificial arm and had come to Germany to demonstrate it. He wanted to sell his patent or manufacture the arms for the German wounded.

"The Kaiser invited him to army headquarters and watched him eat, clothe himself, shake hands, shave, light a cigarette and, in fact, do almost everything that a man can do with his own arms and hands. Evidently the

Kaiser was very much impressed, for he spoke to me about it for half an hour and was most enthusiastic."—Dr. Arthur Davis.

H. ADAMS MASS TRANSCRIPT
NOVEMBER 22, 1913

FAITHFUL TO HIS TRUST

Native African Kept Eyes on Watch for Hour, Lest It Should Go "Jump, Jump."

France has many black fighting men from Senegal in the field; nor are they the only troops recruited from savage or semisavage races that are engaged in the great conflict. A young British officer found himself one night, by a mischance to his motorcycle, stranded by the wayside, and with only a little group of negro stragglers anywhere in sight. He was very tired, having had no sleep for many hours. One of the Africans talked the pidgin English of a coast town, and this man informed him that some motorlorries would be coming along soon, upon which it would be possible to get a lift.

"Soon," in the mouth of an African, is an elastic term, but the captain thought he could afford to wait an hour before setting forward on foot in search of some other means of transportation. Meanwhile, he wanted a nap—wanted it desperately—but he could not trust himself to wake at the end of an hour. The African could not tell time, but the captain determined to depend upon him, nevertheless. Showing him the dial of his wrist watch, he explained that he wished to be waked when the long hand reached there and the short hand there. Then he lay down, with arm extended, and the negro crouched beside him, with his eyes on the dial.

Exactly at the right moment the sleeper was called; and as he opened his eyes they fell upon the African, in precisely the same position, with something strained in his aspect that suggested inquiries. It appeared that he had not dared look away during the entire hour.

"For sure him clock trabbel slow, mass," he explained. "But s'pose him stop go walkee, walkee? S'pose him go jump, jump?"

Upon a river steamer in Africa Miss Mary Kingsley, the English explorer, once heard other passengers giving directions to the native steward in the adjoining main saloon:

"You savvy six o'clock? When them long arm catch them place, and them short arm catch them place, you call me in the morning time."

An interval of silence, and then another voice:

"You savvy five o'clock? When them long arm—" And so it went on, until each passenger had pointed out on the clock face the proper relation of the

two hands to each other at the moment he desired to be called. The ignorant native steward, who could not tell time and could not learn to, was yet sufficiently observant to place and remember the calls correctly; he never got them mixed.—Youth's Companion.
SAN FRANCISCO CAL CHRONICLE
SEPTEMBER 3, 1913

A TRIBUTE TO THE COLORED SOLDIER

Editor The Chronicle—Sir: May I, through the medium of your "Safety Valve" write in support of those two colored gentlemen, Hill G. Boykin and Henry W. Starr? I was for over two years in the trenches and fought side by side with colored troops, and it is impossible for me to find words to express my admiration for these splendid fellows. Their fighting abilities and their courage were equal to any, and I might mention that several of them have been decorated with the Victoria Cross, the highest honor in the British army, which is very difficult to get. I just write in fairness as a sportsman and a soldier. It does not matter to me what color a man is as long as he is a man, and when I used to watch my colored comrades in the trenches I used to think the same great man that made the world the same made you and I, the only difference in us is that you are black and I am white.
RFN. F. C. D. BANISTER, M. M.,
12th London Regiment.

San Francisco, September 3, 1913.

N Y C POST

JULY 11, 1918

BRITAIN LIFTS NEGRO BAN.

Recruiting Mission Here Is Allowed to Enlist Them.

Authority to enlist colored soldiers in the British army has been received by the British and Canadian Recruiting Mission in this country, it was announced here to-day.

Heretofore this has been restricted, owing to the limited number of colored battalions in the British army and to the fact that a great number of colored men have been enlisting in England. The applicants must be British subjects.

French Colored Troops.

While I was at the railroad station waiting for my train, a trainload of French colonial negro troops pulled in and stayed there long enough for me to have a good look at these savage looking fighters, who struck such terror to the hearts of the German soldiers. These colonials were huge men and looked somewhat like Abyssinians with wild, fever eyes. Their faces were very black and they had unusual white teeth which they were now showing in tiger-like smiles. Small wonder that Fritz shook back from the onrush of these black devils, armed with trench knives and bayonets!

Europe.

BLACK TROOPS IN FRANCE.

Richmond Planet

A Graphic Recital of Conditions on the Other Side--Colonial Troops and Their Peculiar Customs

Brave Fighters for the Allies--German Force Checked by Their Fearless Attitude.

Representing the African Times and
Orient Review at the Front, By
Authority of the British War
Office.

(By W. F. Hutchinson.)
(Copyright by J. E. Bruce, Special
Richmond Planet.)

LONDON.

At the request of the Editor of
The African Times and Orient Re-
view, and its American representa-
tive Mr. John E. Bruce, I have under-
taken to tell the story of the part
taken by the the Colored people in
the great struggle which is now being
waged in Western and Eastern Europe
in the Balkans, Egypt and Mesopo-
tamia, as well as in the campaigns
which have been fought in West Afri-
ca and that which is now drawing to
a close in East Africa.

In Togoland and Cameron the
struggle was between colored troops
on both sides; in German East Afri-
ca white soldiers have for climatic
reasons been almost entirely replac-
ed by colored soldiers. In these cam-
paigns though victory rests on the
banners of England and France, the
deeds of Germany's colored troops
have inspired respect for Germany's
capacity for the military organiza-
tion of the African races and admir-
ation of the material. France had long
ago grasped the fact that in her Afri-
can Colonies which in the words of
General Faidherbe (one of the ablest
and most farseeing French Governors-
General) are rich in a product called
"Man," she possessed a reservoir of
military strength, but to the British
Empire the discovery of the military
capacity and value of the colored
races has come as a revelation. From
the beginning, France has included
colored troops in her fighting line,
with a success which has fully justi-

fied her faith and her hopes. Great
Britain accepted the services of Indi-
an regiments in the first campaign
on the Western Front but these are
now fully occupied on other fields
nearer to India. In the later stages
of the war, both powers have called
upon the help of the colored people
from Northernmost to Southernmost
Africa; of the Moors of the Mediter-
ranean shore and of the Negroes of
the southmost cape, of the Egyptians
of the Northeast and the Nigerians
of the West, of the peoples of Asia;
Indians, Singhalese, Malays, Anna-
mites, Cochinese and the Japa-
nese and the peoples of the islands of
the Pacific till every branch of the
human race has been drawn into the
Titanic strife to decide the hege-
mony of the world.

My first task will be to relate how
France's African soldiers have been
collected, enlisted, trained and
organized. This has been
a great complex and difficult labor,
in which the very novelty of the ex-
periment has caused some mistakes.
The care and pains which have been
bestowed on remedying these errors,
and in adapting the conditions of
European warfare to the wants of the
health and even the tastes of the Afri-
can races, is the measure of the val-
ue attached to their services. If the
material had been found worthless
it would have been thrown on the
scrap-heap, and France would not
have added to the labors imposed up-
on her by the war, the study of the
needs and the supply of the
wants of troops unable to render ade-
quate service.

LES TIRAILLEURS SENEGALAIS.

The Senegalese troops of France
have made good. "Les Tirailleurs"
as they are popularly called, are now
definitely classed as "shock" or storm

troops, that is the regiments which
are sent forward to storm or rush a
strong position, or to meet and throw
back the shock of a determined at-
tack by the enemy. In the minds of
those French officers who had seen
service in Africa, and knew the cour-
age and dash and tenacity of "les
Noirs" there was never any doubt as
to the account they would render of
themselves on the field, and in the
day of battle.

RECRUITING.

But I must start my story from
the beginning. The old and seasoned
Colonial troops, the veterans of many
campaigns in the Soudan, were
brought to France at the outbreak of
hostilities. These were proved troops,
some of the regiments having already
attained the honor of having their
colors decorated with the Cross of the
Legion of Honor, but it was when
it had become evident that the war
would be a protracted one, that
France resolved to raise a new army
of 50,000 men from her tropical Afri-
can colonies. These troops are offi-
cially and popularly known as Sen-
egalese, but they include the repre-
sentatives of many races and tongues
scattered over France's vast sphere
of influence, extending from the
southern boundary of Morocco to the
Gulf of Guinea in latitude, and from
the Atlantic Coast facing the Canary

Islands to Lake Tchad in longitude. These races vary in color from an almost European paleness to the darkest of the "dusky" races of the Central Sudan and Upper Niger, and in culture from the Muslims of Timbuktu and the countries which have come under Arabian influence, and embraced the Mohammedan faith, to unsophisticated barbarians, who live according to nature and had hardly seen a white man before the arrival of the recruiting officers among them. Undoubtedly, at the beginning, mistakes were made and trouble created by the mismanagement of local officials. France with the liberality which marks her treatment of her colored citizens, had made provision for the recruitment under the best conditions for the inhabitants of the Colonies. For the alleviation of social burdens a million francs was allotted by the law of the 28th of September 1915, to relieve from the tax the indigenous groups most affected by the recruitment of their young and vigorous men. Provision was also made for the grant of 25 francs to the groups for every man recruited. In some districts, where the local administrations not merely neglected these grants, but sought to increase the fiscal charges on the population, there were difficulties and disturbances until the errors were amended; but in districts, such as the Ivory Coast, where local officers behaved with justice and tact the number of recruits required by the law was surpassed without force, or even pressure.

Again when the recruits had been collected some lamentable errors were made in the choice and construction of the barracks and camps of instruction at St. Louis, Rufisque, Kouroussa, Bouake, Kotonou and Porto Novo, due to the novelty of the problem presented by the recruitment and rapid training of the first batch of 50,000 Africans for European warfare. This arose also partly from the recall of the experienced Colonial Medical officers to France at the outbreak of the war for service at the Front, and their replacement by inexperienced officers when recruiting was taken in hand. But these errors were quickly amended when they were realized, and now every care is taken for the welfare of the African soldier from the time he leaves his native village till he joins his unit in France.

ARRIVAL IN FRANCE.

At the time that the French Government decided to make use of African troops for the defense of the soil of France, it took measures to reduce to a minimum the consequences to them of their sudden removal from their tropical climate to the bleak conditions of Western Europe and a

winter campaign, a task made more difficult by the total disturbance of normal conditions caused by the German invasion. The first was to leave the African troops under the officers' own countries, who understood their wants, their habits and their prejudices, and in many cases spoke their languages. In this way their confidence was gained and the best service obtained from them, as was witnessed by the conduct of "Les Tirailleurs" in Belgium, at Arras and Verdun, in Champagne and in the Ardennes, where they showed themselves qualified to take their places beside the best troops in Europe. The first enemy which the African troops had to face was the cold, an enemy more cruel, more subtle and more persistent than the Germans against which courage and military skill were of no avail, and whose attacks were the more dangerous because the Africans in their native countries (with the exception of those coming from the hilly parts of the Southern Soudan or Fouta-Djallon) had never experienced a temperature below 10 degrees C. (50 degrees F.) even this temperature would only occur during the early morning hours, the increasing power of the sun, as it rose above the horizon, rapidly driving away the chill along with the morning mist. The only defense employed, or required, against this passing chill was to put on a thicker oak or drapery, or to crouch over the lighted brazier till the sun's rays asserted their power. They were therefore entirely ignorant of the precautions necessary to counteract the severe and prolonged cold of a European winter.

THE FIRST WINTER.

By September 1915, all the African troops had been amply provided with thick clothing suitable for winter wear, and warm blankets and other coverings. In addition to the "regulation" kit provided by the Ministry of War, private beneficence overwhelmed the "Tirailleurs" with gifts of winter comforts. Unfortunately, the distribution of these gifts was unequal, favorites receiving a superfluity of gifts while others less popular, received hardly enough. Again the men did not regard these private gifts with the same respect as the regulation supplies, which were government property and therefore did not hesitate to give them away or to stake them at their favorite games. It thus frequently happened that the man who had been proudly displaying himself, and perspiring, in three or four sweaters at once, would, a few hours later, be shivering in his regimental overcoat because the luck of the game had gone against him. This habit brought from their homes, of heaping on coverings, the cold was one of the most difficult to break and led to much suffering. A Bambara,

huddled under all the clothing he could accumulate, when seized with the passion would throw them all off at the sound of the "tom-tom" played by a companion, and resuming his native costume, plunge into the dance, with consequent pneumonia. At the first fall of snow dozens of the men would walk about in it with naked feet, being amazed at the subsequent numbness and cold. Others again, on the Mediterranean seashore, seeing the water blue and sparkling under the December sun, would plunge in, only to be brought back to the barracks stiff with cold. All this may seem very foolish, or even childish, but after all, it could not be matched by the antics of inexperienced European soldiers in the early days of their residence in the tropics? The follies on both sides arise from sheer ignorance of the line of conduct imposed by unaccustomed conditions, and incapacity to learn from anything but the hard teachings of personal experience and suffering.

Another great difficulty was to accustom the men to the wearing of boots. Used to walk barefooted, or with light and supple sandal, the African foot rebelled strongly against being enclosed in the stiff and cumbersome military boot. The difficulty was increased by the difference in the formation of the African and European foot, the calcis in the former being more prominent than in the latter. It was therefore necessary for the African to take a larger boot than the European with a foot of the same size, which of course caused some trouble, and even suffering until the boot was "broken" in. However, the African soon recognized that the European roads and the European climate demanded a more substantial protection for the feet than had been necessary in Africa, and submitted to the discipline of their feet as a part of the making of the soldier. Naturally, the heavy clothing and the unaccustomed footgear detracted from the suppleness and dash of the troops on the march, and caused disappointment to many who had seen and admired their agile carriage in the summer, or in their native country, but the authorities wisely preferred health to appearance. Even more serious than the immediate chill caused by exposure to cold in spite of the warnings of their officers, or in the course of duty, were the pulmonary affections to which Africans are so susceptible, and which appear to find in them so favorable a soil. But these had been anticipated and were met by all the precautions which medical skill could suggest. On the approach of winter the African troops were located, whenever possible, in large, well aired and well warmed barracks, and their hospitals were installed on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, generally in the sumptuous hotels which abound there. The luxury of their surroundings apparently produced little effect

on the Africans, who seemed as much at home among the bedsteads provided for billionaires as among the camp bedsteads and simple apparatus of the barracks, and would probably have preferred the latter if given the choice.

Another precaution was the enforcement of a meticulous cleanliness among the colored troops in order to diminish the risk of contagion. On returning from the trenches the persons, clothing, accoutrements, and coverings of the men are carefully freed from parasites and the clothing disinfected with the fumes of sulphur and formalin. In depots and hospitals the most complete daily ablutions are enforced, a task rendered easy by the Africans' native addiction to personal cleanliness and the practice of ablutions several times a day when in their homes. The greatest difficulty was to induce the men to make use of spittoons, rendered necessary by the inveterate African habit of spitting at all times and places. Careful explanation of the possibility of spreading tuberculosis and such disease as leprosy and plague, by such means proved useless, and it was reluctantly that recourse was had to punishments to enforce cleanliness in this regard. Isolation of all infectious was strictly carried out with such success that not a single case of bilharziosis, filariasis, trypanosomiasis has been detected among the civil population. The result of all this skill and care, together with the experience gained by the men as to the proper line of conduct under the novel conditions to which they were exposed, is seen in the fact that in the winter of 1916 being only about one-tenth of the number of like cases in the corresponding month of 1915.

FOOD.

With few exceptions, the African troops have taken well to the regulation ration of the French army, showing a splendid predilection for the breed, and most of them even Muslims, have developed a taste for French wine, without, however, falling into excess or abuse in its use. The only complaint made was that the ration was a bit short." This arose from most of them being habituated to an almost purely vegetable diet, of which a larger quantity is required than when a considerable portion of the daily food consists of meat. There were never any cases of malnutrition. When actually at the front it was impossible to supply them with anything except the regular army ration, but in the depots, rest quarters, the experiment of giving them their native diet has been carried out with great success. By the kindness, care, and forethought of the "Comite d'Assistance aux Troupes Noires" the members of the various races on entering the refectory can enjoy the food and even the

dainties of their native countries. Rice from the Guinea Coast, millet from the Soudan, Couscous from Mandingoland, "fonio" from Fouta, palm oil from the Ivory Coast and Dahomey, ground nuts from Senegal, prepared by native cooks skilled in their native cuisine, are set before the different groups who, enjoying their meals to the accompaniment of their native music, can forget for a time both the toils of war and the rigors of Europe's austere climate; can almost imagine themselves back in their own sunny and beloved homes, and the Mohammedan, while chewing his kola from Konakry, can tell his beads with the same fervor and gratitude to Allah as if seated under the palm beside the mosque of his own far-away town or village.

HOUSING.

At the outset it was considered by the authorities to be only fair to group the African troops with their French comrades in arms, in order to show that the black troops, being exposed to the same dangers on the battlefield, were deserving of the same solicitude and privileges as were bestowed on French soldiers in France. It was soon discovered that this close association entailed inconveniences on both Frenchman and African, from which the latter suffered most. In spite of the utmost tolerance and the spirit of "comraderie" on both sides the difference in social customs, habits and tastes was too great. All the good will in the world could not prevent occasions of friction between men of habits so different, or render the close and constant association agreeable to either party. To the African, with his high sensitiveness to what he considers a slight, the amazement and amusement of the French soldiers at the customs so strange to them, of their African comrades were constant, though unintentional, sources of annoyance. The frequent prayers, the amulets and charms of the pious African, whether Muslim or pagan, were matter for jest to the emancipated Frenchman who, without the least intention, was incessantly wounding the tenderest susceptibilities of his comrades. On the other hand, the African love for long "palavers" at all hours of the day or night, and their sudden bursts of singing and dancing were galling or tedious to the Frenchman. It was therefore decided to separate African and European troops, and this has been done without wounding the susceptibilities of the former, or conveying any idea of privilege to the latter. On the contrary, it has tended to increase the good feeling on both sides, as the respect and admiration engendered by the emulation of the battlefield is no longer clouded by petty bickerings over mutual incompatibilities in barracks.

MORAL SAFEGUARDS.

One great advantage to the African of this separation is that he can be always under the care of the medical men who know him at home; who understand his constitution, his wants and his diseases. He remains under the sole control and care of the officers and non-commissioned officers who superintended his recruitment and training, under who, perhaps, he has fought in African campaigns, and, who are proud of the splendid soldiers whom they command. Under such men the "Tirailleur" is at his best, and has rendered brilliant service to that France which knows and appreciates his worth, both as soldier and man.

This separation likewise facilitates the protection of the African from the dangers arising from the vast and sudden change in his moral environment to the temptations of civilization, and undue exaltation from the flattery, attentions and almost adoration showered on him, and the subsequent disillusion. To this end he is surrounded in his quarters by an accumulation of those trifles which give a "home atmosphere." There he finds the camp laid out after the manner and, as much as is possible, in the style of his own country, with native foods, native music, dances and songs. He can sit on a mat woven in his home, under a covering of his own country thatch, and, surrounded by his compatriots, indulge in his beloved "palavers," and discuss with his intimates the news of home, the latest letter, the health of the old folk, and the picanineries waiting for his return.

In this way his African spirit and mentality are preserved, and he is protected from the contamination and degeneration of contact with the purlious of an advanced civilization, of which he would probably see only the worst side if left to wander at large. Thus the first of the two questions has been answered in the affirmative and it has been proved that with proper attention to his hygiene, and given sufficient supplies of warm clothing, and good food and shelter, the tropical African supports the European winter and loses none of his high soldierly qualities.

UNDER SHELL FIRE.

The second question has received an equally affirmative answer from all the officers who have commanded the "Tirailleurs" in the fiercest can-nades of the war. The only occasion for raising the question at all was the fact that in his own country the African is accustomed to open warfare, to the charge upon the enemy, and the clash of hand to hand combat with crossed weapons. This style of fighting calls for a quite different type of courage from the grim endurance required to submit to prolonged bombardment by heavy artillery under which, no reply being possible, the soldier must contain himself calmly by an effort of the will

until the order to act comes from his officer. But to this trial also the Senegalese has proved himself equal. Here is the official record of Fako-Doumbia, of the 51st Senegalese battalion: Serving at the observation post of the trench he was three times buried by projectiles, three times released himself and resumed his post with the greatest calmness. Continued on duty until relieved by the commandant of his company.

Fort Douamont, which had gained renown for its obstinate and prolonged defense by the French during the German rush on Verdun in 1916, was defended by the Huns with equal obstinacy when the French began their counter-attack this year, but was recaptured at last. In the course of the attack a battalion of the "Tirailleurs," together with one of the Poilus, was held up by an artillery barrage in front and machine gun fire on the flanks. A veteran lieutenant of the "Tirailleurs" cautiously raising his head, shouted to his men, "How now, 'Tirailleurs' 'are we going to stick here?' 'Forward!' The 'Tirailleurs' bounded forth carrying the 'Poilus' with them in their rush. They passed the barrage, and capturing the fort, raised the tri-color once more upon its walls.

THE HIGHEST TEST.

The "Tirailleurs" have given ample proofs that they possess the brilliant dash which carries a position with the bayonet, and defies the heaviest barrage, and stoicism which can remain passive and undismayed throughout a long bombardment.

They have also shown that they possess that highest form of courage which calmly faces the slow approach of death. On the 17th of February, 1917, the steamer "Athos," having on board a battalion of Senegalese, was torpedoed by a submarine when about two miles from Ma'ta. The troops were at once drawn up, and, obeying commands as calmly as if on parade, they lowered the boats and transferred the women and children thereto. Some of them plunged into the sea four or five times to rescue passengers who had been seized with panic and jumped overboard. Until the last civilian had been placed in safety, not a single Senegalese left the two torpedo boats which were escorting the ship. There remained on board only the guard on duty, consisting of a section and a half, when the "Athos" suddenly plunged at the hour of 12:40 P. M. As the ship sank, the guard was seen to draw up in line and present arms to the flag, impassive and unmoved, they stood until the waters swallowed them up. Honor to the Heroes! The High Command has preserved their memory by a General Order to the Army. The battalion gave the most splendid example of coolness and discipline. The sentries died at their posts in

(See next card)

Race Problem-1918

Europe
(From foregoing card)
"Black Troops in France"
Richmond Planet

the discharge of their duty. Although they had not yet received the baptism of "fire" they had proven themselves soldiers of the highest order maintaining their discipline and calmly performing their duty in the face of imminent death.

APPRECIATION, MILITARY AND CIVIL.

One of the most valuable qualities of the Africans is the rapidity with which they become trained soldiers. Already habituated, by hunting or by native warfare, to take the utmost advantage of the formation of the ground in finding cover, it is only necessary to teach them the management of their rifles, which is rapidly acquired. Their natural quickness of eye enables them to become expert shots in a very short time, and in a few months they are fit to take their place in the field in line with the best of troops. General Achinard, an experienced Colonial officer, who has often commanded France's Native Armies, after describing the difference between the various groups comprised in the "Tirailleurs" Senegalais, says "All of them can be proud to be called shortly 'Tirailleurs' as is the custom in France, for all of them have formed brave troops who have covered themselves with glory. There are great qualities which are common to them all; courage, physical strength, endurance of fatigue and privations, an appreciation of justice, attachment to those who treat them with kindness and are interested in their welfare. They are little subject to being moved by danger. Like the French, they are susceptible to emulation, and inclined to rush at an obstacle, and to run to meet a danger rather than to wait for it, so much so that the cry 'a la baïonnette' some times rises from the troops as an order to those in command. They submit readily to discipline. In private life they are strongly attached to their country and family, the Blacks even more so than the Arabs, and their dream is always to return home with some little savings, to cultivate their fields with the help of a numerous family, quite happy if they enjoy a pension, and especially if allowed to hold some official position. After referring to the care necessary in the selection of such officers as will treat their men with sympathy and consideration, and the great advantages which such officers can obtain from these admirable troops the General continues: "Well led, their 'Tirailleurs' will give them the sub-

lime pride of having vanquished the most formidable enemies against whom we ever had to fight and of having covered themselves with glory by preserving civilization and liberty to France and the world. Let us love our 'Tirailleurs'; let us treat them with kindness and respect; they will reward us by not sparing themselves in the field of battle. As they are beside us in danger, so let them be beside us in honor."

France's appreciation of, and gratitude for, the services of her Colonials has been voiced by M. Maginot, the late Minister of the Colonies on the occasion of the recent Colonial Conference in Paris: "Foreigners are somewhat tempted to consider our possessions as a sort of provincial domain, where on peace settlement each one can dip according to his wants and particular aspirations. I desire to say here that we look upon our Colonies as forming an integral part of France. It is not at a moment when the population of our Colonies have paid with their blood upon the battlefield the right to belong to the grand French family that we can allow the least doubt with regard to this."

The Union Colonials in a report recently issued, says "Shall we be content to let the Natives in Senegal have certain electoral and municipal rights while other parts of the West African Colonies, where the Natives are more numerous, have none? We cannot, and we say it emphatically, that we do not see why the Native should not have a say in the administration of his country. We go further, and propose that the Native should not only help administrative life, in his own village, but represent his own district in a Colonial Legislature. The Native is the principal agricultural authority a good plan would be for authorities to help the small farmer, and supply him, not only with seeds, but with advances of money in bad seasons. In France after the war, we have no doubt that many of our West African Natives will be asked to replace in agricultural life those who have fallen on the field of battle."

Again on his arrival at Dakar, M. Van Vollenhoven Governor General of French West Africa, spoke as follows: "During the crisis, French West Africa has furnished evidence not only of its patriotism, but still more of its robust vigor; so true is it that trial tempers, and does not weaken really strong organisms. It is a great honor and a great pride, for me to thank it in the name of the Government of the Republic. In

the name of France, therefore, I salute with respectful emotion, the Children of French West Africa who have fallen for the sacred cause. Officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Colonial Army, colonists, merchants and mobilized officials, soldiers who saw France only to give her their blood, all of you, heroes known and unknown, who were the pride of the Army and the terror of the enemy! It will piously preserve the memory of your sacrifice."

And in recognition of France's attitude towards her colored troops thus sings one of her African soldiers:

If I should fall in battle may it be Upon the bosom of Democracy; Beneath the azure skies of noble France

Who cries to all, in spite of race, Advance!

In France the ancient home of chivalry;

In France, where freedom is what it should be;

In France, where manhood soars to dazzling heights;

In France, the home of undivided rights!

Yea; may I die where I am not denied, In that great land of brotherhood and pride

Where I can rise in spite of humble birth,

Where men are judged not by their skin, but worth,

In France, the home of great and valiant deeds,

In France, where men are honest with their creeds,

And should I live, at my first chance I'm going to settle down in dear old France.

ONE OF OUR DEFENDERS

Utica News
12/1/18

803rd Infantry Headquarters,

American Expeditionary Force

My dear Mr. Holtzclaw;

I was indeed glad to have your letter and to hear from my home country and especially glad to hear from Utica Institute and to know that things are going well with you despite the conditions through which you must be passing now. It was my intention to write you before I left the States, but I simply could not get the time.

I was indeed glad to hear that a good many of the boys attended the Student Army Training Corps at Howard University this summer. I had some additional training at the Tuskegee Student Training Corps before I left and I found it very easy to build upon the training which I had already received at Utica. I feel that my six weeks at Tuskegee made me a real soldier.

Since I have been here, I have been in a regiment composed of nearly all northern men. George Jefferson is about the only southerner I am acquainted with, in my regiment.

France is a fine place,--great indeed. The orchards and vineyards are splended to look upon. I find that the French farming here is somewhat like that we did at Utica, but it seems to be more intensified.

In regard to the people, I find it very difficult to talk with them. It is really funny sometimes when I ask them about some things and they start to explaining and it sounds like a crowd of women all trying to talk at the same time, and I just say yes and act wise and go ahead.

I was glad to hear from Miss Clopton some little time ago but have not heard from her for some time. Should like to hear from you whenever you can find the time to write.

Kindly remember me to all my friends at Utica and tell them that I am determined that Utica Institute shall be adequately represented, and that as far as the power lies within me, the country will be defended

James Baker, Class '15.

Race Problem - 1918

Moving Pictures

Negroes of Columbia, S. C., Win

Out in Fight to Prevent Tom

Dixon's Vile Play in That City

Daily Herald - 5-28-18

WILL NOT SHOW

"BIRTH OF NATION"

Picture Called off by Theatre

Committee of Negroes

Filed Protest.

(From The Columbia Record)

The moving picture, "The Birth of a Nation," which was to have been shown at the Broadway theater May 27th and 28th, will not be shown, according to the announcement from the management of the theatre Friday morning, and a different picture will be substituted.

The management of the theatre decided to call off the picture Friday morning, it was stated, in view of the general situation now existing in the United States and the desire not to show any picture that might tend to develop antagonism or hinder a spirit of thorough harmony among people of all races with the national cause.

A protest against the showing of the picture was made to the city council and the State Council of Defense Friday Morning by representatives of the Colored Auxiliary, Council of Defense and colored ministers of Columbia. The petition based its protest upon the ground that "the very theme of this play and its purpose are arranged and fashioned upon lines that are calculated to arouse antagonism and hatred in one race against the other, and to otherwise bring in a panoramic review a distorted picture of

a sad past." The petition was signed by N. F. Haygood, chairman; Edward S. Willet, D. F. Thompson, C. A. Harrison, J. C. White, Richard Carroll, M. G. Johnson, A. W. Timmons, Joseph J. Atwell, Butler W. Nance, W. H. Thomas, Rev. Chas. Jagers and James A. Brigman.

City council had decided to hold a meeting at 4 o'clock Friday afternoon to decide upon the protests, but the showing of the picture was voluntarily called off by the management of the theatre Friday morning.

BREEDER OF STRIFE

Carroll Asks for Suppression

of "Birth of a Nation"
(From The Columbia State)

"To the Editor of The State:

The "Birth of a Nation Play" by the Rev. Thomas Dixon is now visiting cities near army camps throughout the South—anywhere they can get a crowd. Leading white citizens of the South have been getting Negroes to subscribe to liberty bonds, contribute to the Red Cross fund and the Negroes of the country have responded according to their means.

My heart leaped with joy when I saw the great response last week at Ridgeland, Garnett and the greatest of all at Lamar last Sunday. This play, a stirrer up of strife, an incubator of crime, of race hatred and race prejudice is now coming thru the South and is booked to come to Columbia at an early date.

The Negroes have willingly and cheerfully presented their lives to the

government. They have burned no bridges, destroyed no munition factories. German agents have not been able to turn them against the government and the flag and now comes "The Birth of a Nation." Has it ever lifted anybody morally or intellectually who witnessed the play? I am glad that some Southern cities have barred this obnoxious play and there are Southern people, even in Columbia and other parts of South Carolina, who will not allow their families to see it. Every individual of every race and condition in America should turn their faces and hearts toward Europe at this hour and help in every way to win the war by the production of food, economy, buy Liberty bonds, subscribe to the Red Cross, and you white men who have appealed to the Negroes, who have responded so liberally to your appeal, should now denounce and bar this horrible play from the State.

"Why arrest men for disloyalty and pernicious activities and allow this play to go unchecked and unhampered through the States?

"I have been looking for a better day in the South and I have been preaching for 25 years a better and more helpful relation between the races and other men, white and colored, have done the same. This play is a destruction of all good work done. Oh, County and State Council of Defense, here is a work for you—stop this play. Everything should be done now by white citizens and colored citizens to forget the past and it should be preached from every pulpit at every meeting, 'Peace and good will toward men, and win the war.'

"I know what I say will have little effect upon many of your readers, but I write it, I express my feeling. Twenty years ago there were white men brave enough and good enough, who were leaders in this State, who would not allow this horrible play before their families. Why wink at other crimes of men and women in the camp zones? Why arrest men and women and put them in prison and

make them pay fines and allow this 'Birth of a Nation' to pass? We must be aware of the Kaiser at our back, this wolf in sheep's clothing, the Kaiser clothed as an angel of light! Poor colored people! are there no white men who will speak at this hour? Oh, the cause of the living God, patriotic citizens, will you not speak against this horrible play? Newspapers that carry flying messages and tongues of fire in our pulpits, 'They are slaves who fear to speak for the friendless and the weak; They are slaves who fear to be in the right with two or three.'

"Richard Carroll, Columbia, May 24."

Gen. Greene Insists Mayor Prohibit Play

Tacoma, Wash., April 26.—The infamous photoplay, "The Birth of a Nation," has been downed again. The citizens of this city, under the leadership of Mrs. N. J. Asberry, launched a vigorous campaign against the exhibition of this film here, and as a result of their concerted efforts to deal a death blow to the painted lie of the owners of Liberty theater, where the picture was being shown, were ordered to discontinue showing the picture.



Mrs. N. J. Asberry "The Birth of a Nation" first made its appearance the very day the government launched the third Liberty Loan drive. When citizens learned that the picture was being displayed in this city, a decided slump was noticed in the subscription to the loan, presumably due to the fact that the film was branded as an evil influence to the establishment of world-wide democracy, and immediate steps were taken to rid the community of its vile purpose. Every attention was turned from the Liberty Loan campaign for a few days until the city officials had taken action restraining theater owners from exhibiting the corrupted picture.

Maj. Gen. Greene Takes Action
A citizens' committee composed of Rev. J. A. G. Grant, Rev. A. W. Williams, Mrs. N. J. Asberry and J. A. G. Washington appealed to Maj. Gen. Greene at Camp Lewis to use his in-

fluence to stop the exaggerated photoplay. In a statement to the committee the major said: "I do not believe that this picture, 'The Birth of a Nation,' serves any necessary educational or moral purpose, while on the contrary I am convinced that its appeal is to passion and Race prejudice. And I feel that every effort should be put forth to destroy any factors that tend in any way to cause discord in our country, especially at this very critical moment in the world's greatest drive for human rights and democracy." The Rt. Rev. Keator, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church, also denounced the picture and promised any assistance to the committee which he could give in order to stop the play. Gen. Greene did not interfere in the case, saying that it was a matter strictly in charge of the city officials. But as soon as the city officials learned of the general's attitude toward the picture they acted immediately and the picture ceased to show.

Citizens Praise Mrs. Asberry

When the final notice was given that the film has been suppressed, patriotic citizens expressed their gratitude to Mrs. Asberry for the part she had taken in behalf of her Race and the community. She spared no time and effort in creating public sentiment against the unjust photoplay, and did much to stir the prominent white citizens to action. The activities of this committee will stand as a permanent barrier to all similar photoplays that are headed this way.

BIRTH OF NATION STOPPED IN TEXAS BY AUTHORITIES

San Antonio, Texas.—The photoplay "The Birth of a Nation," which has for its purpose, the creating of prejudice between the two races met a foul blow when it reached San Antonio. The show was scheduled to begin at the Grand Opera House, Jan. 20, and was due to remain for eight consecutive nights. Dr. C. B. Johnson, dentist called the attention of the leading Colored citizens to the fact that this play would have a tendency to create race prejudice at this particular time and insisted that some action be taken to stop the play.

A committee was formed and an appeal sent to white ministers, the military authorities, and a petition presented to the city council. The promoters were prohibited from showing the picture.

Dr. Johnson is to be commended for his racial interests manifested in organizing the Colored citizens and preventing this damnable play from showing in San Antonio at this particular time when the co-operation of both races is most needed to combat the enemies of the government and help foster the interests of the War Department during this crisis.

PROTEST MADE TO MAYOR

AGAINST "BIRTH OF A NATION"

N. A. A. C. P. ASKS NEW ADMINISTRATION TO DO
WHAT OLD ONE REFUSED. NOTHING LIKELY

TO BE DONE.

The Louisville News Jan 26, 1918

The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, met at the Y. M. C. A. last Thursday night week. Among other matters discussed was the appearance of the Birth of a Nation, at a local picture house next week. The Grievance Committee was instructed to call on the Mayor and try to have him stop the play. An effort was made to have Mayor Buschmeyer stop the picture in 1916, and when he refused an appeal was made to Gov. Stanley, who did nothing.

The picture is vicious, strife-breeding and prejudice breeding thing that attempts, and the author admits that purpose, to lower the Colored people in the eye of their white neighbors.

The local branch professed to believe that better success would attend their efforts to stop the play under a Republican administration than it did under a preceding one.

The Grievance Committee is composed of Prof. A. E. Meyzeek, Rev. U. F. DeBardelden, W. S. Lovett and William Warley. Mr. Meyzeek acted as spokesman for the committee, when an audience was secured with Mayor Smith Saturday morning. He told the Mayor the picture was a prejudice breeder, that it was historically incorrect, that with the city full of white and colored soldiers, it might start trouble, that it ridiculed the Colored people and lowered them in the respect of the whites, that it was condemned by the best people all over the country. Mr. Meyzeek's argument was strong and convincing—to his fellow committeemen.

The Mayor replied that he had seen the picture, and that it had not affected his views on the race. He said he knew of no way of stopping it if he wanted to, that he was sure no harm would come of it, and altogether did not give the impression that he would bother about it. On Wednesday, the committee again called on the

Mayor, but his Secretary, Mr. Burlingame, said he was too busy to meet the committee. A visit was then made to Mr. Clayton B. Blakey, who acted as attorney for the N. A. A. C. P. in other matters discussed was the appearance of the Birth of a Nation, at a local picture house next week. The ways stood by the organization, and Grievance Committee was instructed given it advice. He agreed that the play was vicious and ought to be stopped. He wrote a letter to Mayor Smith and enclosed a copy of his letter to Mayor Buschmeyer and declared the letter objecting then was even more applicable today than at that time. Pamphlets from the National Association quoting men and women as opposed to the play, and citing concrete cases of violence and bad feeling which followed in its wake.

Thursday Mr. Burlingame was asked if the Mayor had read the data sent him by Mr. Blakey. He said the Mayor had. He was asked if it had affected the Mayor to the point of doing anything. He said the Mayor had gotten expert advice on the subject, and had spent three hours considering the matter, and had evolved a plan that would be fair and just to all concerned. He said he wanted no publicity given the matter. So the matter stood Thursday.

The News publishes here the actions of two other Mayors in regard to this play, and also calls attention to the fact that Mayor Curley and Mayor Mitchell of Boston and New York, respectively, lost the Colored vote, and thereby the election, because they allowed this plan to go on over the protest of Colored and white citizens of those cities.

WHAT TWO OF THE MAYORS DID
Bay State Mayor Bars "Birth of a Nation."

Everett, Mass., Jan. 14.—Following in the footsteps of the Puritan fathers, and upholding the principles for which Massachusetts officials are known, Hon. John J. Mullen, Mayor of Everett, sent the following to the

manager of the Broadway Theater: Mr. Nathan Brown,

Manager of the Broadway Theater, Everett, Mass.

Dear Sir: After considering the picture, "The Birth of a Nation," which you want to place on the curtain in your theater, I find it does not meet with my approval. I made a declaration to the people of Everett that all people, regardless of race, color or creed, shall get an honorable deal. This picture reflects, in my judgment, on one class of people, namely, the Negro, and I, as Mayor of Everett, feel it is my duty to give those people an honorable deal. This I cannot see in the above named picture. It encourages prejudice against the colored people of this city, and I believe it is our duty to uplift these people rather than to draw them back to the days of a generation ago.

You already know that a great protest has been made against this picture, therefore it is utterly impossible for it to meet with my approval and ask you to cancel the same. I am sorry to be compelled to do this, because I have the highest respect for you. Yours truly,

(Signed) John J. Mullen, Mayor.

ATLANTIC CITY MAYOR FORBIDS BAD PHOToplay

Will Not Allow "Birth Of Nation"
To Exhibit In His

The City Journal & Guide
Jan. 16, 1918
IT LIBELS THE NEGRO RACE

Theatre Manager Accepted Mayor's Ruling Without A Protest

(Special to Journal and Guide)

Atlantic City, Feb. 18.—Mayor Harry Bacharach has issued a decree forbidding the Colonial theatre to show the film play: "The Birth Of A Nation." Elaborate plans had been made by the theatre management to run the film for three days. The matter was brought to the attention of the mayor by public spirited colored citizens.

He immediately sent the following message to the Colonial's manager: "It has been called to my attention that you are thinking of bringing the 'Birth Of A Nation' to Atlantic City on February 14th, 15th, and 16th. I desire to notify you that you should cancel this picture at once, as it will not be permitted to be shown in this city. If you attempt to do so, I shall be compelled to use the power vested in me as Mayor of the city and close your theatre. I do this not alone as Mayor of the city, but as vice-president of the State Home Defense Committee."

The matter was taken up by the Amusement Association which assured the Mayor that it did not wish to give any exhibition that might promote race hatred. Later on the theatre manager called on the Mayor and told him that although the theatre would lose hundreds of dollars they accepted his ruling and would not contest the case.

NEW PICTURE WORSE THAN BIRTH OF A NATION

New York, Feb. 10.—The N. A. A. C. P. headquarters is sending notice to all branches to look for a new motion picture called "Free and Equal." It is reputed to be worse than Dixon's play. The synopsis:

Mr. Lowell, a millionaire philanthropist, kindly disposed toward the Colored people, and believing that they should have a square deal, an opportunity, and proper environment attends the graduation exercises of a Negro school in the South. He is attracted by the force and brilliancy of one of the graduates, Alexander Marshall, who is the valedictorian of his class, and thrills the audience with his eloquence. Mr. Lowell, returning to his beautiful New England home, engages this young man as his private secretary and installs him in the bosom of his family.

In the character of Alexander Marshall is typified the Negro. It is evident to the observer that the race is on trial. From this point to the end Marshall is depicted as a cunning beast, invested with an insatiable lust which recognizes neither color, condition nor class. A series of brutal assaults upon innocent women terminate in his trial on the charge of murdering one of his late victims. The disclosure in the court room that he had clandestinely married the daughter of his benefactor, so arouses the community that it is only by a miracle that he escapes the rage of a mob. He

The Republic
Hon. Frederick M. Russell, the brilliant young leader of Los Angeles Cal. was elected to the Assembly of California from the 71st District. The gratifying part of it is that he had white support in landing the job. The colored folks are coming unto their own again.

Hon. H. C. Smith scored again recently. It seems that the promoters of "The Birth of a Nation" are determined to do all in their power to injure the colored people of Ohio in particular and the colored people of this country in general. They went to Cleveland to display this discredited play. Mr. Smith took the matter up with Gov. James M. Cox, a Democrat of Ohio and with President Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat in the White House of the Nation. The latter claimed that he was without power to act and the former proceeded to notify Hon. H. C. Smith of the Cleveland Gazette that the play would be withdrawn from that State.

As a result, this devoted and brilliant race leader is happy. It may be many years after he has gone from this earth, but the colored people of this country have never had a more faithful advocate of their rights and privileges than this tireless Ohioan, who during more than a quarter of a century has battled against the hydra headed monster of race prejudice in behalf of a race that at times has treated him coldly and other times has vouchsafed him their most loyal support. We congratulate him upon his success in this instance.

BIRTH OF NATION BANISHED FROM STATE OF OHIO

The Cincinnati Enquirer
The infamous moving picture film has been banished from the State of Ohio. In a letter to the editor of the Cleveland Gazette, Chas. E. Morris, Secretary to Governor James M. Cox says: "In further connection with your recent letter concerning 'The Birth of a Nation,' I may inform you that after October 1, the picture will be withdrawn from showing in this state, by the voluntary action of the producers at the request of Governor Cox."

PROTEST MADE TO MAYOR

AGAINST "BIRTH OF A NATION"

N. A. A. C. P. ASKS NEW ADMINISTRATION TO DO
WHAT OLD ONE REFUSED. NOTHING LIKELY

TO BE DONE.

The Louisville News Jan 26, 1918

The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, met at the Y. M. C. A. last Thursday night week. Among other matters discussed was the appearance of the Birth of a Nation, at a local picture house next week. The ways stood by the organization, and Grievance Committee was instructed to call on the Mayor and try to have him stop the play. An effort was made to have Mayor Buschmeyer stop the picture in 1916, and when he refused an appeal was made to Gov. Stanley, who did nothing.

The picture is vicious, strife-breeding and prejudice breeding thing that ing and prejudice breeding thing that attempts, and the author admits that purpose, to lower the Colored people in the eye of their white neighbors.

The local branch professed to believe that better success would attend their efforts to stop the play under a Republican administration than it did under a preceding one.

The Grievance Committee is composed of Prof. A. E. Meyzeek, Rev. U. F. DeBardelden, W. S. Lovett and William Warley. Mr. Meyzeek acted as spokesman for the committee, when an audience was secured with Mayor Smith Saturday morning. He told the Mayor the picture was a prejudice breeder, that it was historically incorrect, that with the city full of white and colored soldiers, it might start trouble, that it ridiculed the Colored people and lowered them in the respect of the whites, that it was condemned by the best people all over the country. Mr. Meyzeek's argument was strong and convincing—to his fellow committeemen.

The Mayor replied that he had seen the picture, and that it had not affected his views on the race. He said he knew of no way of stopping it if he wanted to, that he was sure no harm would come of it, and altogether did not give the impression that he would bother about it. On Wednesday, the committee again called on the

Mayor, but his Secretary, Mr. Burlingame, said he was too busy to meet the committee. A visit was then made to Mr. Clayton B. Blakey, who acted as attorney for the N. A. A. C. P. in other matters discussed was the appearance of the Birth of a Nation, at a local picture house next week. The ways stood by the organization, and Grievance Committee was instructed to call on the Mayor and try to have him stop the play. An effort was made to have Mayor Buschmeyer stop the picture in 1916, and when he refused an appeal was made to Gov. Stanley, who did nothing.

Thursday Mr. Burlingame was asked if the Mayor had read the data sent him by Mr. Blakey. He said the Mayor had. He was asked if it had affected the Mayor to the point of doing anything. He said the Mayor had gotten expert advice on the subject, and had spent three hours considering the matter, and had evolved a plan that would be fair and just to all concerned. He said he wanted no publicity given the matter. So the matter stood Thursday.

The News publishes here the actions of two other Mayors in regard to this play, and also calls attention to the fact that Mayor Curley and Mayor Mitchell of Boston and New York, respectively, lost the Colored vote, and thereby the election, because they allowed this plan to go on over the protest of Colored and white citizens of those cities.

WHAT TWO OF THE MAYORS DID
Bay State Mayor Bars "Birth of a Nation."

Everett, Mass., Jan. 14.—Following in the footsteps of the Puritan fathers, and upholding the principles for which Massachusetts officials are known, Hon. John J. Mullen, Mayor of Everett, sent the following to the

manager of the Broadway Theater: Mr. Nathan Brown,
Manager of the Broadway Theater,
Everett, Mass.

Dear Sir: After considering the picture, "The Birth of a Nation," which you want to place on the curtain in your theater, I find it does not meet with my approval. I made a declaration to the people of Everett that all people, regardless of race, color or creed, shall get an honorable deal. This picture reflects, in my judgment, on one class of people, namely, the Negro, and I, as Mayor of Everett, feel it is my duty to give those people an honorable deal. This I cannot see in the above named picture. It encourages prejudice against the colored people of this city, and I believe it is our duty to uplift these people rather than to draw them back to the days of a generation ago.

You already know that a great protest has been made against this picture, therefore it is utterly impossible for it to meet with my approval and ask you to cancel the same. I am sorry to be compelled to do this, because I have the highest respect for you. Yours truly,

(Signed) John J. Mullen, Mayor.

ATLANTIC CITY MAYOR FORBIDS BAD PHOTOPLAY

Will Not Allow "Birth Of Nation"
To Exhibit In His

The City Journal & Guide
Jan. 18, 1918
IT LIBELS THE NEGRO RACE

Theatre Manager Accepted Mayor's Ruling Without A Protest

(Special to Journal and Guide)

Atlantic City, Feb. 18.—Mayor Harry Bacharach has issued a decree forbidding the Colonial theatre to show the film play: "The Birth Of A Nation." Elaborate plans had been made by the theatre management to run the film for three days. The matter was brought to the attention of the mayor by public spirited colored citizens.

He immediately sent the following message to the Colonial's manager: "It has been called to my attention that you are thinking of bringing the 'Birth Of A Nation' to Atlantic City on February 14th, 15th, and 16th. I desire to notify you that you should not be permitted to be shown in this city. If you attempt to do so, I shall be compelled to use the power vested in me as Mayor of the city and close our theatre. I do this not alone as Mayor of the city, but as vice-president of the State Home Defense Committee."

The matter was taken up by the Amusement Association which assured the Mayor that it did not wish to give any exhibition that might promote race hatred. Later on the theatre manager called on the Mayor and told him that although the theatre would lose hundreds of dollars they accepted his ruling and would not contest the case.

NEW PICTURE WORSE THAN
BIRTH OF A NATION

New York, Feb. 10.—The N. A. A. C. P. headquarters is sending notice to all branches to look for a new motion picture called "Free and Equal." It is reputed to be worse than Dixon's play. The synopsis:

Mr. Lowell, a millionaire philanthropist, kindly disposed toward the Colored people, and believing that they should have a square deal, an opportunity, and proper environment attends the graduation exercises of a Negro school in the South. He is attracted by the force and brilliancy of one of the graduates, Alexander Marshall, who is the valedictorian of his class, and thrills the audience with his eloquence. Mr. Lowell, returning to his beautiful New England home, engages this young man as his private secretary and installs him in the bosom of his family.

In the character of Alexander Marshall is typified the Negro. It is evident to the observer that the race is on trial. From this point to the end Marshall is depicted as a cunning beast, invested with an insatiable lust which recognizes neither color, conflict nor class. A series of brutal assaults upon innocent women terminate in his trial on the charge of murdering one of his late victims. The disclosure in the court room that he had clandestinely married the daughter of his benefactor, so arouses the community that it is only by a miracle that he escapes the rage of a mob. He

confesses his guilt, and behind the prison bars preaches a warning to his race. Hon. Frederick M. Reeves, the brilliant young leader of Los Angeles Cal. was elected to the Assembly of California from the 71st District. The gratifying part of it is that he had white support in landing the job. The colored folks are coming unto their own again.

Hon. H. C. Smith scored again recently. It seems that the promoters of "The Birth of a Nation" are determined to do all in their power to injure the colored people of Ohio in particular and the colored people of this country in general. They went to Cleveland to display this discredited play. Mr. Smith took the matter up with Gov. James M. Cox, a Democrat of Ohio and with President Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat in the White House of the Nation. The latter claimed that he was without power to act and the former proceeded to notify Hon. H. C. Smith of the Cleveland Gazette that the play would be withdrawn from that State.

As a result, this devoted and brilliant race leader is happy. It may be many years after he has gone from this earth, but the colored people of this country have never had a more faithful advocate of their rights and privileges than this tireless Ohioan, who during more than a quarter of a century has battled against the hydra headed monster of race prejudice in behalf of a race that at times has treated him coldly and other times has vouchsafed him their most loyal support. We congratulate him upon his success in this instance.

BIRTH OF NATION
BANISHED FROM
STATE OF OHIO

The Cincinnati Enquirer
The infamous moving picture has been banished from the State of Ohio. In a letter to the editor of the Cleveland Gazette, Chas. E. Morris, Secretary to Governor James M. Cox says: "In further connection with your recent letter concerning 'The Birth of a Nation,' I may inform you that after October 1, the picture will be withdrawn from showing in this state, by the voluntary action of the producers at the request of Governor Cox."

Race Problem - 1918

Moving Pictures

THE BIRTH OF A NATION

That photo-drama, born in malice aforethought, and conceived in the depraved mind, which Thos. Dixon, a southern preacher, called "The Birth of a Nation," has put in its appearance again in St. Louis, the third time.

Just why a picture, which libels the entire Negro race, and has stirred up so much ill feeling between the white and Colored people throughout the country, finds such a welcome in St. Louis, calls for serious thought. When that iniquitous play made its first appearance here, it was vigorously opposed by the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P., but somehow, it filled the entire engagement. The second booking was also met with opposition on the part of the Colored people, but it only seemed to increase the daily receipts for the playhouse and its promoters.

The play is evil, every inch of it. The lie it portrays about the Negro sets the very soul of every Colored man, woman and child on fire, who sees it. It is worse still to see the people of the white race, who boast of equal justice and fair play, so determined to fasten the lie on the weaker race. Might is Right—this is their action, which speaks louder than words.

Insult to Injury has been added by this nefarious picture coming to our city at "popular prices," coming to the New Grand Central at the corner of Grand and Lucas Avenues. Upon inquiry, we are informed that a Mr. Seviere is the manager of this picture-house; but it is owned by a syndicate in which some of our high city officials are financially interested. Is it possible that such officials would be a party to such a crime as this?

There is a sinister meaning in showing the picture where Colored people are not admitted. It is like a "stab in the back." They know the Negro would resent it. They show it behind closed doors, at popular prices, so everyone who sees it will help Thomas Dixon forge the lie upon the Negro. How is that for justice and fair play?

German Propaganda Seen

Cities and States have barred this picture and branded it as dangerous to the peace and welfare of their communities. It stirs up strife and race hatred. Nothing could render the enemy more comfortable at this time than to see the people at strife among themselves in the United States.

Where are the millions of loyal Americans, who claim to be watching even the garbage cans for German propaganda? Where is the United States District Attorney with his corps of assistants? Where are the secret service men? Where is the Bureau of Intelligence? Do they not see that such men as Thos. Dixon and his followers are undermining the morale of the men who are called into the National Army, and those who are expecting to soon be called. If states and municipalities will not stop such plays, then we appeal to Uncle Sam to stop it as a war measure.

Birth of Nation Barred

The Southern Standard
May 11, 1918

From Lynn, Mass.

(Special.)

Lynn, Mass., April 30, 1918.—As we go to press the colored citizens are very much exercised over the announcement of the Birth of the Nation at the Comique Theatre, May 6, Rev. Dr. W. A. Lynch, chairman of the Executive

Through Local Equal Rights League
Chairman, Mayor and Council of
Big Massachusetts City Withdraw
Permission to Dixon's Race-Hatred
Play Advertised to Appear.

five of the Equal Rights League in connection with Messrs. Jas. Ogden, Mr. Brown, Mrs. Murray and others have filed a protest and has been granted a hearing before the Mayor and board of common council. There is also a meeting to be held at the Mailey Street A. M. E. Church to devise other plans to crush out this breeder of racial prejudice.

BEV. W. A. Lynch, Correspondent.

Victory Won.

Lynn, Mass., May 2, 1918.
Mr Wm. M. Trotter, Secretary,

Dear Sir:—I have the pleasure of informing you for the cause of Equal Rights of the race, we have succeeded in having the license for the appearance of the Birth of the Nation revoked. I appeared before the Mayor and Board of Common Council and protested. We have won a great victory,

W. A. Lynch.

"THE BIRTH OF A NATION" SHOULD BE SUPPRESSED
7-28-18

The photo-play "The Birth of A Nation" has engendered more hatred between the races, has caused more friction and stirred up more strife between the white people and the Negro people than any single agency for evil in this country.

It has awakened and developed a feeling of bitterness by white people against Negroes and of resentment on the part of Negroes for whites North and South and has been especially fruitful of results in destroying the amity and goodwill which should obtain between two races of people living side by side and each in some degree dependent upon the other.

"The Birth of A Nation" has sought to dig deeper and wider the chasm between

the races: it has successfully endeavored to capitalize and turn into dollars racial hatred and prejudice, the lowest passions of the human heart.

Since its appearance in the playhouses of the country lynchings and every form of violence against Negroes have been increased and public sentiment in favor of law and its enforcement in the protection of persons of every race has been changed and lynchings and violence against Negroes have come to be regarded with tolerance and often with approval.

This condition of affairs has created great unrest among Negroes throughout the country and especially in the South. Hundreds of thousands have left their homes to escape conditions which had become no longer endurable. To their new homes in a changed atmosphere they carry the burden of their troubles with them and embitter the friends among whom they cast their lot against the officials of a government who look with placid indifference upon such oppression.

It would seem that the time has come when a check should be put upon any man or any production created by man that is instrumental or responsible for this unrest.

The photo-play "The Birth of A Nation" is the chief disturber of the rest and peace of Negroes and its continuance of hate will intensify their bitterness, increase their unrest and in every way lower the morale of the race at a time when the nation needs the enthus-

iasmatic support of every class of its citizens. The Negro is absolutely loyal and devoted to the nation's cause and can be gotten to give willingly and gladly every ounce of energy and substance which he possesses in its behalf; at the same time he would like to be granted a brief respite from listening to the song of racial hate and a little brief period in which to forget.

"The Birth of A Nation" should be suppressed as a war measure. Its suppression would help the government because it would help twelve million Negroes to forget and would inspire them with hope for the future.

BREEDER OF STRIFE.

Carroll Asks for Suppression of "Birth of A Nation."

To the Editor of The State:

The "Birth of a Nation Play" by the Rev. Thomas Dixon is now visiting cities near army camps throughout the South—anywhere they can get a crowd. Leading white citizens of the South have been getting Negroes to subscribe to liberty bonds, contribute to the Red Cross fund and the Negroes of the country have liberally responded according to their means.

My heart leaped with joy when I saw the great response last week at Ridgeland, Garnett and the greatest of all at Lamar last Sunday. This play, a stirrer up of strife, an incubator of crime, of race hatred and race prejudice is now coming through the South and is booked to come to Columbia at an early date.

The Negroes have willingly and cheerfully presented their lives to the government. They have burned no bridges, destroyed

no munition factories. German agents have not been able to turn them against the government and the flag, and now comes "The Birth of a Nation." Has it ever lifted anybody morally or intellectually who witnessed the play? I am glad that some Southern cities have barred this obnoxious play and that there are Southern people, even in Columbia and other parts of South Carolina, who will not allow their families to see it. Every individual of every race, sect and condition in America should turn their faces and hearts toward Europe at this hour and help in every way to win the war by the production of food, economy, buy liberty bonds, subscribe to the Red Cross, and you white men who have appealed to the Negroes, who have responded so liberally to your appeal, should now denounce and bar this horrible play from the State.

Why arrest men for disloyalty and pernicious activities, and allow this play to go unchecked and unhampered through the States?

I have been looking for a better day in the South and I have been preaching for 25 years a better and more helpful relation between the races and other men white and colored, have done the same. This play is a destruction of all good work done. Oh, county and State Council of Defense, here is a work for you—stop this play. Everything should be done now by white citizens and colored citizens to forget the past and it should be preached from every pulpit at every meeting, "Peace and good will toward men, and win the war."

I know what I say will have little effect upon many of your readers, but I write it, I express my feelings. Twenty years ago there were white men brave enough and good enough, who were leaders in this State, who

would not allow this horrible play before their families. Why wink at other crimes of men and women in the camp zones? Why arrest men and women, put them in prison and make them pay fines, and allow this "Birth of a Nation," to pass? We must be aware of the kaiser at our back, this wolf in sheep's clothing, the kaiser clothed as an angel of light! Poor colored people! are there no white men who will speak at this hour? Oh, the cause of the living God, patriotic citizens, will you not speak against this horrible play? Newspapers that carry flying messages and tongues of fire in our pulpits. "They are slaves who fear to speak For the friendless and the weak; They are slaves who fear to be In the right with two or three."

Richard Carroll.
Columbia.
(Rock Hill Messenger.)
MAYORS STOP DIXON PLAY
ONE IN MINNESOTA AND ONE IN MASSACHUSETTS DECLARE "BIRTH OF NATION" INCREASING PREJUDICE AGAINST COLORED AMERICANS.
Minneapolis, Minn., Feb. 1, 1918—Thomas Van Lear, mayor of this city has ordered the manager of a lake street theatre not to show the infamous film, "The Birth of a Nation," because it would increase feeling against Afro-American citizens and might incite a riot.

"BIRTH OF A NATION" IS AGAIN BARRED
COLORED PEOPLE OF NORRISTOWN OUST "THE BIRTH OF A NATION"
The colored citizens of Norristown, Pa., successfully protested against "The Birth of a Nation" which was billed to be staged for the week beginning August 19.
Rev. J. R. Reed, pastor of Mt. Zion A. M. E. Church, Norristown, Pa., and a committee of colored citizens saw Sablasky Brothers, managers of the theatre, and Hon. S. L. Crawford, Burgess of the town. The result was that the managers withdrew the photo-play.

The other members of the committee were Dr. D. A. Wilson, Charles Milford, Charles Yellets, George Bryant John D. Brown, Lewis Epps, Joseph Denny, Wm. Smith, James McClellan and Percy LeRoy Griffin.

TOM DIXON'S "BIRTH OF A NATION" SHOULD BE SUPPRESSED.

The recent successful fight of representative Negroes of Columbia, S. C. to prevent Tom Dixon's lying, slanderous play from showing in that city renews the conviction that it should not only be barred from Columbia's theatres but from every moving picture house in the country.

The reasons which impelled the city authorities and the Council of Defense of Columbia to bar it from the show houses of that city are just as potent and forceful in their application to any other city.

The "Birth of a Nation" is a menace to the peace and good order of the communities where it is shown: it excites a feeling of scorn, contempt, detestation and bitterness on the part of white men and women for Negroes and a feeling of hatred on the part of Negroes for whites. No people can be caricatured, slandered, portrayed as degraded, beastly and unmoral and held up to ridicule and contempt without having aroused a feeling of bitter resentment towards those who so portray them. And when appeals made to those in authority to save them from such treatment are given no consideration the conclusion inevitably follows that the authorities city, state or national to whom such appeals are made approve of the slanders, caricatures and insults, the ef-

fect of which is by no means wholesome.

The production of Dixon's play therefore tends to injure the government in its war aims and efforts and it is earnestly to be hoped that it will be speedily suppressed as a war measure during the period of the war.

If there are any reasons why it should be allowed to continue to spread its propaganda of hate its author and promoter should be called upon to adduce them. If they cannot they should no longer be allowed to be disturbers of the peace and breeders of strife between the races.

WILL NOT SHOW BIRTH OF NATION
The Star of Zion
Picture Called Off by Theatre
Committee of Negroes
Filed Protest.

The moving picture, "The Birth of a Nation," which was to have been shown at the Broadway theatre May 27th and 28th, will not be shown, according to announcement from the management of the theatre Friday morning, and a different picture will be substituted.

The management of the theatre decided to call off the picture Friday morning, it was stated, in view of the general situation now existing in the United States and the desire not to show any picture that might tend to develop antagonism or hinder a spirit of thorough harmony among people of all races with the national cause.

A protest against the showing of the picture was made to city council and the State Council of Defense, Friday morning by representatives of the Colored Auxiliary, Council of Defense and colored ministers of Columbia. The petition based its protest upon the ground that "the very

theme of this play and its purpose are arranged and fashioned upon lines that are calculated to arouse antagonism and hatred in one race against the other, and to otherwise bring in panoramic review a distorted picture of a sad past." The petition was signed by N. F. Haygood, chairman; Edward S. Willett, D. F. Thompson, C. A. Harrison, J. C. White, Richard Carroll, M. G. Johnson, A. W. Timmons, Joseph J. Attwell, Butler W. Nance, W. H. Thomas, Rev. Charles Jagers and James A. Briggman.

City council had decided to hold a meeting at 4 o'clock Friday afternoon to decide upon the protests, but the showing of the picture was voluntarily called off by the management of the theatre Friday morning—White Daily, Columbia, S. C.

Campaign Launched Against Questionable Movie Films

New York, Oct. 16.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through its secretary John R. Shillady of New York, announces that in the interests of national unity it has begun a nation-wide campaign against certain movie plays which serve to stir up antagonism and against unduly offensive caricatures of our people.

"The recent patriotic action of Governor James M. Cox of Ohio and that of the Council of Defense of West Virginia in accomplishing the withdrawal from the movie theaters of their respective states of the objectionable film, 'The Birth of a Nation,' is a very gratifying evidence of the kind of result the association wishes to see made nation-wide," says the association's statement. "At the request of Governor Cox the producers of 'The Birth of a Nation' have agreed to withdraw the film for the period of the war. In West Virginia the Council of National Defense considered that this movie film should not be shown at the present time and prohibited its appearance." Similar action has been taken in one or two other states, and in some cities, both North and South, and efforts are being made to bar the film from caricatures. the association declares.

MAYOR HUNTER STOPS "BIRTH OF A NATION"

Terre Haute, Ind., May 10.—Frequent protests have been filed in the mayor's office against the proposed exhibition of "The Birth of a Nation," which is scheduled to be shown here at the Grand Opera House, and following these complaints Mayor Hunter conferred with the management of the opera house and secured a cancellation of the contract. Credit is due Attorney J. E. Roundtree, who headed the committee that waited on the mayor.

The Government of West Virginia has enjoined the production of the libelous

film "The Birth of a Nation" in the state for the duration of war.

The Crisis, August 1918. P. 190.

The "Birth of a Nation" has been ruled out of Lincoln, Neb.

"BIRTH OF NATION" BARRED FROM BOSTON

Mayor Andrew J. Peters at Request of National Equal Rights League Notifies Manager of Globe Theatre That Dixon Play Is Not Advisably—Quick Response to Plea of Delegation of League, Headed by William Monroe Trotter—Just the Opposite of Mayor Curley's Action in 1915.



COLUMBIA, S. C. SETS

THE RACE.

The following account taken from the Columbia (S. C.) State, of the handling of the "Birth of Nation" film in that city is full of interest and deserves careful reading by every thoughtful citizen in the country.

"BIRTH OF NATION NOT SHOWN"

"Council Objects to Stirring Racial Feelings."

"Council held a special meeting yesterday morning to receive a delegation of Negroes who desired to protest against the exhibition in Columbia of the motion picture, 'The Birth of a Nation.' Every member of the council was in his seat and S. E. Posey, the manager of the Broadway theatre, was present by request. The following Negroes appeared before the city fathers: J. J. Atwell and the following Negro ministers, N. F. Haywood, C. A. Harrison, A. W. Timmons and D. F. Thompson, Douglas McKay representing the Richland County Council of Defense, attended the meeting.

J. J. Atwell made an impassioned speech in which he implored the council to use their influence toward

a suppression of the picture at this time. He said the Negro race was loyal and patriotic and as the American people were a unit in bringing the war to a speedy and successful conclusion it was necessary to bind the people together. The picture showed conflict between the white and the black and such exhibitions were not calculated to cement the American citizenship at this period.

"The council struck a happy solution when it suggested that the management of the theater and the delegation get together. This was accomplished in a few minutes and everything was satisfactorily arranged. The city fathers complimented the manager of the Broadway theater for his patriotic stand in the matter.

"The delegation of Negro citizens expressed their appreciation of the prompt and efficient action of the city fathers. The following resolution was adopted, the council going on record as being opposed to the exhibition:

'Resolved, That the city council recommend, pursuant to the recommendation of the State Council of Defense, that the film, 'The Birth of a Nation,' be not shown in the city of Columbia.' — "The State."

This apparently unimportant news item concerning the happy solution of a vexed question between the colored and white people of Columbia was not flashed over the wires in the press news dispatches. But there was no happening that day of greater vital concern and

more pregnant in its promise of coming peace and good will between the races and therefore of greater importance to all the people of this nation than the recital the State portrays.

Every step in these remarkable proceedings should be carefully noted. A special meeting of the city council was held; every member of council was present; the council was considerate, kindly and generous in its attitude towards and its treatment of the Negro petitioners. The theatre manager was present and a representative of the Richland county Council of Defense.

The Negro delegation was composed of a number of the leading citizens of Columbia.

The spokesman of the Negro committee presented the issue of the Dixon play clearly, forcibly and convincingly. He declared the Dixon film showed a conflict between the races and that such exhibitions drove the races apart instead of uniting them in the common cause for which all Americans should now gladly and willingly fight.

The council was ready to grant the appeal of the Negro delegation but the Negroes were there for unity and accord and the council turned the Negro committee and the Theatre manager

over to each other to see how high the spirit of loyalty, patriotism and goodwill would rise above selfish greed and racial prejudice.

The judgment of council was vindicated and council Negro delegation and Theatre manager went their ways all happy because they

had conscientiously served their country, their God and their State with fidelity and patriotic devotion.

The Negroes of the entire country owe thanks to Columbia for this act of reasonable justice. It has set the pace.

Columbia is greatly the gainer; it has won the deserved appreciation of its Negro citizens that is a guarantee that henceforth no call of duty will be too severe, no burden too great for its Negro citizens to bear willingly with its white citizens.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
DECEMBER 3, 1918

Beleaguered Film

Makes Bow to Prove
That It's No Dream!

"THE BIRTH OF A RACE."
Directed by John Noble.
Presented at the Blackstone.

By Mae Tinée.

The beleaguered "Birth of a Race" is at last on exhibition. It comes after long delay as an answer to the importunate demand of 5,000 stockholders: "What did you do with our money?"

When the silver tongued salesmen first set out to unload their stock the idea was to produce a picture that would be "an answer to 'The Birth of a Nation.'" It would show the progress of the Negro race. The Negro population were first approached and it is said they responded nobly. They were to have "their own picture," beautiful, many reeled, Griffithonian. They were for it. A little racial feeling, however, was shown to prevail when white folk were approached and so it was decided to change the motif of the production and make it a gorgeous declamation on the brotherhood of democracy.

Quite a good deal of money was secured and the picture was made using up all of said money. There was none left to put it on.

A long wait. Yowls from the stockholders. A collision with the blue sky law. Awful times generally! Then J. Reynolds and F. H. Hibbard to the rescue. Angels! Result, picture!

It is quite easy to see where the money of the stockholders has gone, for "The Birth of a Race" bears the mark of expensiveness. You can't produce an animated Bible story, show great events of ancient and modern history with mob scenes, costumes, bat-

BOSTON'S ANTI-"BIRTH OF A NATION" MAYOR, A. J. PETERS
Who Has Met the Supreme Test

MAYOR PETERS ACTS FOR LEAGUE.

(Boston Post, March 1st, 1918.)

"The Birth of a Nation," the film play that caused riots and a political sensation here three years ago, was barred from the city by Mayor Peters yesterday. League Delegation Saw Mayor.

The motion drama so much disliked by the Colored people of the city was to have been shown at the Globe Theatre. Persons in charge of the production, fearing a renewal of the objections made by the Mayor, sought out the Mayor to discover his attitude. Just prior to this, W. Monroe Trotter and other Boston Negroes had heard of the projected performance and had made objections to the Mayor.

Mayor Peters Notifies Manager.

The Mayor decided that it would be unwise to produce the film again and communicated this decision to the managers. According to the latter, the film was open on Monday of next week, but will be foregone.

...es and all the trappings that go with them without spending a pretty bunch of coin. This is what is done in the first part of the picture. Then there's a modern story which, too, shows the dollar upon it.

There's good acting all the way through the production and the director has done all he could with his mass of material. But, like "Intolerance," though not with its utter splendor, the picture tires you. Personally, I think that with the modern story alone the stockholders would stand a heap better show of getting their money's worth though the first part is, without doubt, that on which the most thought and money has been expended.

The management thought the last and most unkindest cut of all was the refusal of the ushers, twenty minutes before opening time Sunday night, to wear the Judean costumes that had been rented for them.

"We won't wear no tights and gauze!" they said—and struck!

The new official government film, "Under Four Flags," opened last night at the Playhouse, with a special program.

W. VIRGINIA BARS BIRTH OF NATION AS WAR MEASURE

State Council of Defense Declares Dixon Picture Is Dangerous to Morale of State's Patriotic Colored Citizens

Charleston, W. Va., June 22.—The Executive State Council of Defense, Wednesday, placed a ban on the exhibition of "The Birth of a Nation" and all similar plays in this state during the period of the war.

The action of the state council came as a sequel to the passage of a resolution by the McDowell County Auxiliary Council of Defense protesting against the showing of "The Birth of a Nation." The McDowell County Council, composed of colored citizens of that county, and one of the units of the State Auxiliary Advisory Council of which J. C. Gilmer is secretary, set forth that the attraction is one "calculated to arouse white and Negro races of the state and likely to hinder and retard proper co-operation between the races in promoting the greatest efficiency in war work of all kinds."

The order of the Council is broad in its inhibition of plays or motion pictures written or staged in the spirit of "The Birth of a Nation," and is specific in making it unlawful and subject to penalties to show such a play or picture at any time prior to the termination of the present war.

The order recites that the colored people of West Virginia have been loyal and patriotic and have cheerfully responded to all demands for activities in the work of national defense; that the Auxiliary Advisory Council and the State Council of Defense have been working together in complete harmony.

White Citizens Drive "Birth of a Nation" From State

CHICAGO DEFENDER NEWS SERVICE
Charleston, W. Va., June 23.—The Executive State Council of Defense last Wednesday placed a ban on the exhibition of "The Birth of a Nation" and all similar photoplays in this state during the period of war. The action of the State Council came as a sequel to the passage of a resolution by the McDowell County Auxiliary Council of Defense protesting against the showing of the infamous play. The petition to the council stated that the film was "calculated to arouse hatred and prejudice between the races, and likely to hinder and retard the proper co-operation between the races in promoting the greatest efficiency in war work of all kinds."

The ban became effective immediately on the passage of the order, and will protect the smaller towns in the mining sections, where the picture is booked for exhibition, having made a tour of the larger cities. Managers of the houses affected and owners of the picture are flooding the state house with letters and telegrams of protest without avail.

"BIRTH OF A NATION" CAN CELEBRATED BY CALIFORNIA MAYOR
Stockton, Cal., April 5.—"What a fine show of hypocrisy that must have been on our part if we are not willing to show consideration for this Race when we are put to the test. We can get along without 'The Clansman,' and prove to the colored people that we are not fearful of the part they are doing to help win the war," said Mayor A. C. Cullahan in a speech before a representative gathering of citizens that petitioned him to place a lid on the infamous "Birth of a Nation," which was scheduled to show at the Yosemite theater. The management of the theater kindly consented to reject the moving picture when he was promised reimbursements for advertising the painted lie.

Nashville Censors Permit Film To Run Over Protest of Negroes

"The Birth of a Nation," returning to Nashville, Tenn., for its fourth run played to good houses during the entire week of May 6 at the Vendome Theatre, a legitimate house.

The picture was presented over the urgent protest of the A. M. E. Ministers' Alliance, a negro preachers' organization, which was made to Mayor Gupton and members of the City Commission.

TARRYTOWN, N. Y., NEWS
MAY 31, 1918

COLORED CITIZENS TO HOLD MEETING

To Protest Against Presentation of the "Birth of a Nation."

The colored citizens of Tarrytown and North Tarrytown will hold a public meeting this Monday night, June 3rd, 1918, at 8 o'clock, at the Shiloh Baptist Church to protest against the moving picture called "The Birth of a Nation," which is to be shown at Music Hall, June 7th and 8th, 1918.

While the colored citizens are trying to do what is right and teach their children to be law abiding citizens, this immoral play written by Rev. Thomas Dixon causes race hatred and in many places in the south where this picture has been shown lynchings and race troubles have resulted which were directly traceable to this picture.

The Colored Protective League, composed of citizens of both towns, are trying to improve their condition and ask the assistance of their white friends to help them. All are invited to be present at this protest meeting Monday night.

The following committee has been appointed by the League: Rev. Wilson, pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church; Rev. J. H. Mason, pastor of A. M. E. Zion Church; Peter Mathews, William F. Kingsland, Clarence C. Jackson, Mathew Valentine and J. Walter Nelson. This committee will be enlarged and appear before the board of trustees at their next meeting Tuesday night and protest against the showing of the picture.

As the showing of this picture has been stopped in Port Chester and Rochester and other places, they are trying to stop it here.

INDIANA MAYOR STOPS "BIRTH OF NATION" OF OWN ACCORD.

The *Guardian*
DID NOT WAIT FOR PROTEST
May 11, 1918.
Gary, Indiana.—The grievance committee of the N. A. A. C. P. called at the mayor's office and protested against the showing of the "Birth of a Nation," billed to play in Gary April 26th. Mayor Hodges told the committee that he had already stopped the "Birth of a Nation" from showing in Gary.

PROTESTS AGAINST FILM.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., May 6. — A committee of Negroes, representing the A. M. E. Ministers' Alliance of Nashville, called upon Mayor Gupton Thursday morning and entered a protest against the photoplay, "The Birth of a Nation," being shown in Nashville again. The mayor promised to take the matter up with the board of censors.

LYNN MASS NEWS
MAY 2, 1918
The are rather inclined to agree with the position of the colored citizens of Lynn in their protest against the presentation of the picture, "The Birth of a Nation," in this city. The picture does not serve any good purpose, and there are plenty others that will afford quite as much entertainment. The north and south are united in upholding the honor and dignity of the nation. Why arouse old animosities?

BOSTON BARS BIRTH OF A NATION.

The *Louisville News*
Great City's Honor Redeemed by Mayor Peters.
March 2, 1918.

Boston, Mass., March 4.
Last week was a great week for the race in Boston. The disgrace of permitting the nefarious "Birth of a Nation" in 1915 was wiped out by the newly-elected Mayor, Andrew J. Peters.

Through the sole activity of the Boston Branch of the National Equal Rights League, the Dixon play was barred by the Mayor. It was being advertised at the movie houses to be given today at the Globe Theater. Secretary Trotter of the National Equal Rights League, was informed of this on Wednesday, and that afternoon sent a protest to Mayor Peters. On Thursday at the close of the court session where U. S. Commissioner W. A. Hayes rendered John Johnson of West Virginia, a free man, a case started and promoted by the League, a delegation waited on the Mayor. Those present were Pres. E. T. Morris, Mrs. Jane Posey, William D. Bingham, our white friend, Dr. A. B. Lattimore, Prof. Allen W. Wahley, Dr. J. Silas Taylor and Wm. Monroe Trotter, Secretary. Mayor Peters said he had, on receiving the League's protest, sent for the manager of the Globe Theater, and was having the law examined and would do his utmost to prevent the play which he characterized as most objectionable.

Friday morning's daily papers announced that the manager of the theatre had been to see Mayor Peters and had acceded to his request not to produce the play.

used as an indorser of this
Now Boston, instead of being "Birth of a Nation" can be used against it. All honor to Hon. Andrew J. Peters.

BIRTH OF A RACE PHOTO PLAY CORPORATION CLINCHED IN BLUE SKY GRAPPLE.

The *Freeman*
Colored Stockholders Estimated to be Heavy Losers—Edwin L. Barker and F. H. Hibbard, Jr., Southern White Men, Head of Project—Giles P. Cory, Chicago Broker, Arrested.

March 16, 1918.
(By Sylvester Russell.)

The bedlam of folly and the skill of a bandit's sophistry was sounded when, on the morning of February 18th, the Chicago Herald turned on the alarm of what had long been looked upon as a stock brokerage suspicion. About a year ago "The Birth of a Race" was announced in Chicago as a play to offset "The Birth of a Nation" in favor of the colored race, purported to be a master photo-play founded on Booker T. Washington's autobiography, "Up From Slavery." Expensive pamphlets with bronze cut pictures of Abraham Lincoln freeing the slaves, were issued from the Birth of a Race Photoplay Corporation office at 29 South La Salle street, Chicago, Ill., Suite 408-12, adjoining the brokerage firm of Giles P. Cory & Co. In the printed list of prominent persons interested were the names of ex-President Taft, Governor Lowden, of Illinois, Hon. Julius Rosenwald and others. Edwin L. Barker was president; Frank H. Hibbard, Jr., was vice president, and E. E. Siler, secretary and treasurer. Aside from other prominent names, Barker was ascribed as the creator of "The Story of Bread," "The Dawn of Plenty," "The Dawn of Commerce," etc., to be features of the story with incidental music by Harry T. Burleigh. The assertion on the pamphlets that Emmett J. Scott would write the scenario,

Race Problem - 1918

South America

BRAZIL AND COLOR.

In acceding to your request that I send you "one or two letters about the color problems in Brazil," I keep within the limitations of my capacity and comply with your admonition that I make them as short as possible, by writing one letter with the simple statement that there is no color problem in Brazil. *Waller*

By way of explanation, however, I must add that this does not mean that a black skin is an open-sesame to any and every drawing room and a shibboleth of easy access to the heart of any maiden and the purse of her father. It means, for one thing, that a man is not necessarily black because his skin is not so white as somebody else's skin. In the terms of the "social equality," which the telegrams say that German spies have been trying to obtain for the not-quite-white-enough in Alabama, it means that the color of the pelts in a drawing room is the exclusive business of the people who wear them, and that if the son of some gentleman violates the servant girl there is no law to prevent him from marrying her because she does not come up to the popular specifications as to complexion. In a word, in Brazil the mere possession of a white skin does not entitle a man to superior civil rights and opportunities, nor does an increased pigmentation condemn its owner to the status of a pariah. *Express*

The idea of race as being synonymous with nation holds true in Brazil. Perhaps in the great republic of the North the time is not far distant when an American will be no less than an American, no matter what the shape of his head or the color of his skin. And then, when you have no more Wacos, you need fear no Verduns. At least, you will have the satisfaction of knowing that none of the blood and treasure which you would generously spend for the redemption of Belgium is being paid in needless sacrifice for the slavery that you maintain at home. —(Signed) Jose Clarana (The Crisis).

The Negro In the North

HOUSTON TEX CHRONICLE

APRIL 16, 1918

That the South's treatment of the negro, with our segregation laws and our various rules and regulations, is far better than what the negro encounters in the North is clearly shown by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, who has the long sounding title of "director of publicity and research of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

The negro, Dr. Du Bois states, is not considered a civic quantity in cosmopolitan New York, or in other cities in the North, for that matter. As a citizen he is tacitly ignored. "He and the rest of 125,000 to 150,000 here," said Dr. Du Bois, "are regarded as an appendage to the community," and adds:

"Whenever there is any local movement for social betterment the negro is forgotten. He is either invited in last or only as the result of pressure. He is never expected to play any part as a civic factor. People do not sit down and argue that he should be left out. It simply does not occur to them that he should be included."

"There would be historical reasons for such an attitude in the South. But why is it found in the greatest city in the world, made up of polyglot peoples theoretically, at least, the most liberal minded?"

"The leaders of society here, in its broadest sense, are active in all kinds of uplift work to fit the masses for political and industrial democracy. But they take no heed of the negro."

"When they are asked to admit colored people into their calculations they have to hold a special consultation. They must go into the whole question of the size of the negro's head, his slavery and his destiny in the world to come. Finally, in nine cases out of ten, if provision is made for him, he enters in a separate compartment, cut off from contact with other people. What chance has he to be taught himself or to teach them out of their prejudice?"

"The thing for you to do is to develop your own institutions," workers for civic betterment advise the negro. This the colored people have been forced to do at such a rate in New York and elsewhere that Dr. Du Bois and other leaders see grave dangers ahead. A kind of hyphenism has been thrust upon them, they say. They are driven to develop as a separate group, within barriers—Americans, but not an integral part of America. "It is easy to build up such unhealthy walls," Dr. Du Bois cautions, "but hard to break them down."

The city government itself gives the negro little more recognition than do the civic groups. At present, according to Dr. Du Bois, the colored population is represented in the conduct of municipal affairs by one indictment clerk, another lawyer, some janitors and two policemen.

"Nor is this the fault of the particular party in power. The negroes here have found that they are best when Tammany is at the helm. They expect least from reform administrations. When Seth Low became mayor, for instance, he was approached for recognition. 'I have appointed a janitor,' was the answer."

"The reformers have little sympathy for the colored man," Dr. Du Bois explains in recounting these cases. "Why? Because they are high-brows and have had contact with him only as a servant. He is invariably kicked to 'the other side,' which always does do something for him. It may be only to appoint a lot of janitors, but there is some effort to recognize him. This is true not only here, but in other cities in the North. Why, in Philadelphia, it is almost impossible to pry the negro loose from the 'gang.'"

"Because the city itself ignores its colored citizens there are almost no public institutions of recreation or social uplift here for them. The few they have are their own. The large negro section in Harlem has no public baths. It has no playgrounds. If we ever do get playgrounds they will come not as the natural equipment for that part of the city, but as separate institutions, 'colored playgrounds,' in response to a definite demand from the negroes. That will mean that 'white playgrounds' elsewhere will be closed to them."

"The 'colored playground' would probably be conducted better than the ordinary one. The kind of young colored person the city would get for it would be just as well educated as the white supervisor and more intensely interested. But the point is that the negroes would have not a public but a segregated playground."

It will be seen from the above interesting discussion that the negro in the North has no public playgrounds, no public baths and is practically ignored by his Northern "friends."

They don't make laws that entitle negroes to separate parks,

separate railroad cars and separate schools, as we do in the South. They simply ignore and avoid their colored fellow citizens, and then proceed to abuse and berate the South for handling the negro problem in a sensible and humane way.

PROGRESS BEING MADE.

Clive Land Advocate 8-318
Five weeks ago, at the request of the government, Colored newspaper men, and leaders for the race, assembled in Washington. They were asked to assemble there for the purpose of acquainting high government officials with what was needed to arouse the maximum of enthusiasm within the race for the prosecution of the war.

The loyalty of the race had never been questioned by government officials—not even by those hailing from a section where justice has been, and is being denied the race; nor had the race's loyalty been doubted by the American public. There were, however, some who suspected that there were certain conditions existing that conspired to dampen the race's enthusiasm, or militate against its acquainting itself with what was most needed to help win the war.

These men, some forty in number, coming from every section of the country, and representing Colored public opinion, and standing for justice for the race, and to the country, were asked to tell "the plain unvarnished story," without exaggeration—tell that which government officials desired to know.

The result of their three days' session was a well-tempered resolution, reaffirming and emphasizing, the race's traditional loyalty accompanied by a bill of particulars enumerating fourteen needful and urgent things which ought to be done to make consistent, in the minds of Colored men, that this war is really in the interest of the oppressed peoples of the world, of which the Colored race in these United States is a glaring example of oppression and denial.

Up to date four of these fourteen specifically enumerated things which could possibly make for a splendid morale—an unbounded enthusiasm—have been acted favorably upon. Colored nurses have been called for war work; the status of Colonel Young, the race's ranking military officer and only West Pointer, has been cleared up; the President has prepared a statement condemning lynching and a tender to Dr. DuBois of a position in the intelligence bureau has been made, although declined by him.

With a tremendous obligation resting upon them—the high government officials—with a mighty battle raging in which are engaged "our own" kith and kin from the United States, we anticipated that, perhaps, haste would be made "slowly." However, twelve million Colored people, who not for a single moment lagged in their loyalty to country, are hoping that all their representations may be soon favorably acted upon.

They do not ask that they be favorably acted upon as a price for their loyalty, but rather as an incentive to the greatest exertion possible for mere human beings.

Perhaps it may not be amiss to say that the favorable consideration given to four of the items in the race's bill of particulars is due, in no small way, to the alertness—the constant vigil, and the diplomatic insistence of the race's lone ambassador in the War Department—Emmett I. Scott.

A GRIEVANCE WITHOUT REMEDY

RICHMOND VA. VIRGINIAN
JULY 3, 1918
A conference of colored newspaper editors was held some days ago in Washington, D. C., which adopted, among other things in their resolutions, the following:

"We are not unmindful of the recognition of our American citizenship in the draft, of the appointment of colored officers, of the designation of colored advisors to the government departments and to other indications of a broadened public opinion; nevertheless we believe today that justifiable grievances of the colored people are not producing disloyalty, but an amount of unrest and bitterness which even the best efforts of their leaders may not be able always to guide, un-

less they can have the active and sympathetic co-operation of the national and state governments. German propaganda among us is powerless, but the apparent indifference of our government is dangerous."

Those who know the negro are fully familiar with the fact that the only "unrest and bitterness" that arises from any source among the colored people is nurtured and aroused by these very so-called "leaders," and as a matter of fact the only semblance of unrest and bitterness today South of the Potomac lies entirely in the breast of the self-styled "leaders."

The colored man is getting along very well. He is behaving himself and making a good living. Trouble whenever there is any, comes from the false and insincere mouthings of the fellow who strolls around in idleness and filches a living out of the honest and hard working negroes and reimburses them by a contribution from his storehouse of wisdom and concoctions for the straightening of hair.

These "leaders" have but one "justifiable grievance." They are anxious for social equality, and they pretend to believe that their "rights" are invaded when they are not permitted to associate with their white neighbors. This is the whole sum and substance of their "grievance." In the South they have every opportunity for development and prosperity that others have. The colored man who fairly represents his race does not pine nor whine over this thing that never can be. He is satisfied to occupy his natural relation toward the rest of mankind, and proud to elevate and sustain the integrity of his race.
BROOKLYN N.Y. EAGLE
SEPTEMBER 12, 1918

WAR AND THE NEGRO

Editor Brooklyn Daily Eagle.

In shackles the negro went into the Civil War to fight for a whole Union and a whole freedom. He helped to bring from the battlefields a whole Union forever and a whole freedom to himself. The Union is intact, but he is unjustly restricted in his blood-bought freedom and citizenship. He is maltreated at will without being able to obtain a fair and full redress.

But notwithstanding these unfavorable conditions to true patriotism and genuine loyalty, when the country sent its flag across the ocean to join the Allies for a world-wide democracy he was ready with 100 per cent. patriotism and loyalty.

He has suffered discrimination and endured vicious uses while giving

himself up on the battle fields of the world for the nation's honor without being a traitor, slacker, or deserter.

Speaking before an audience of 5,000 Liberty Loan workers assembled in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York city, last Friday night, President Woodrow Wilson enumerated a set of five principles which he characterized as the practical program of America's peace terms, and for the maintenance of which the United States is prepared to assume its full share of responsibility. The first of these great principles reads like this:

"The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just, and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples."

While in this principle, so clearly defined, it is understood that in Mr. Wilson's claim for "impartial justice," the nations engaged in the war are referred to—yet we cannot but note the significance and peculiar construction of the phraseology.

We are, moreover, again attracted to this principle when we read the following paragraph from the President's same address:

"National purposes have fallen more and more into the background and the common purpose of enlightened mankind has taken their places. The counsels of plain men have become on all sides more simple, more straightforward and more unified than the counsels of the sophisticated men of affairs who still retain the impression that they are playing a game of power, and playing for high stakes. That is why I have said that this is a people's war, not a statesmen's. Statesmen must follow the common clarified thought or be broken. I take it, to be the significance of this fact, that assemblies and associations of many kinds made up of plain work-a-day people have demanded almost every time they came together, and are still demanding, that the leaders of their governments declare to them plainly what it is, exactly what it is, that they are seeking in this war. They are not yet satisfied with what they have been told. They still seem to fear that they are getting what they ask for only in statesmen's terms—only in the terms of territorial arrangements and the divisions of power, and not in terms of broad vision, justice, and mercy, and peace, and the satisfaction of those deep-seated longings of oppressed and distracted women and enslaved peoples that seem to them, the only things worth fighting a war for, that engulf the world."

There is again a reminder of the fitness of the principle involved to our peculiar need when we read another paragraph, which states:

"The war has lasted more than four years and the whole world has been drawn into it. Individual statesmen may have started the conflict, but neither they nor their opponents can stop it as they please. It has become a people's war, and peoples of all sorts and races, of every degree of power and variety of fortune, are involved in its sweeping processes of change and sentiment."

We can only add: Mr. Wilson, your analysis of the principles for which America assumes its full share of responsibility is clear it is the analysis of the 311,000 Negroes who struggle in the ranks and who above all else—in common with those of other races, who struggle, too—are entitled to that impartial justice which involves no discrimination. It is the analysis also of the nearly 12,000,000 citizens of the democracy, which you swore to represent, and their enthusiasm for this principle grows more and more irresistible, as

service and sacrifice stand out in more and more vivid and the stark outline.

The voices of America's millions of Negroes in the ranks and elsewhere are shouting, Aye, Aye, to your analysis of the aims of the men, who are giving their lives that the final triumph of justice and fair-dealing may be assured.

GOOD RESULTS ALREADY EVIDENT FROM CONFERENCE OF EDITORS

President's Stand Against Lynching; Opportunity for Colored Nurses and Probable Recall of Col. Young Follow Urgent Appeals for Justice.

Washington, D. C., July 29.—Already there are numerous evidences that the recent conference of colored editors and leaders held in this city in June, which was called by Emmett J. Scott, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, at the suggestion of the War Department and the Committee on Public Information, to consider the relations of the 12,000,000 Negroes in this country with the general government itself, and to discuss ways and means how each might cooperate most effectively in the work of winning the present world-wide war, is bearing fruit. Three results of the most significant character have been worked out within the past fortnight that fully justify the holding of the conference and other issues not less far-reaching are well on their way toward a satisfactory conclusion.

President Wilson's Clean-cut Pronouncement Against Lynching

The first in importance and human interest of the helpful results that may be said to have grown directly out of the recent conference of editors, and the cooperation of Negro leaders and friends of the Negro people, is the frank, positive and unequivocal declaration of the President of the United States against the mob spirit, which has been sent to the four corners of the earth by cable and through the newspapers of this country. President Wilson's firm stand for law and order ranks with the finest of the great state papers that have emanated from the White House, and it has electrified the entire country as it has seldom been thrilled before.

It will be remembered by those familiar with the proceedings of the conference at the New Interior Department Building that the full force of the leaders who spoke was marshaled in opposition to the lynchings, burning and inhuman mob violence

practiced mainly against colored people in various sections of the country, and that this lack of respect for the common rights of citizens was given as the most potent cause for the common rights of citizens was given as the most potent cause for the unrest among Negroes. This was the underlying reason for bringing the conference together from far-distant points. The proceedings of the Conference reached the President through the Committee on Public Information of which Mr. George Creel is chairman.

The President's message is a wholesome rebuke to ruthless violators of the law, who almost invariably think they will be immune from punishment by the courts or by an outraged public opinion.

The colored people are jubilant over the timely and straightforward pronouncement of the President of the United States and that such an utterance from the highest authority in the land will cause a wave of patriotic enthusiasm among them and inspire a keener impulse to assist in the many constructive war activities throughout the Republic can not be doubted.

Colored Women Rejoice in Opportunity to be War Nurses

The second outstanding achievement growing out of the conference is the opening made for the employment of the large number of colored trained nurses who have patriotically registered their names with the American Red Cross Society for working among the colored troops on the field and in the base hospitals. The conference strongly urged that these skilled nurses be used at the earliest possible opportunity.

According to an announcement made through the office of the Special Assistant to the Secretary of War last week, plans have been laid by the Surgeon-General of the Army to have colored nurses assigned to six of the base hospitals in this country where approximately 38,000 colored troops are stationed; namely: Camps Funs-

ton, Dodge, Grant, Taylor, Sherman and Dix, and with a practical certainty that these skilled agents of mercy will have a further opportunity for service among the colored soldiers overseas. With the constant increment of colored men in the army the number of women to be utilized must be correspondingly enlarged from time to time, with a constantly expanding area of usefulness and spiritual influence. This signal triumph has heartened beyond measure the women of our land, who are called upon time of war to make the heaviest sacrifice—and yet are the most willing to sacrifice and to serve when called upon to do so. This is the second big achievement that may be quickly credited to the recent conference and it will prove to be a vital factor in alleviating the unrest that has been breaking down the morale of Negro Americans.

Colonel Young May Soon Be Called To Active Duty

The early recall to active duty of Colonel Charles Young, the idol of the young colored men of red blood and sturdy public spirit, also urged by the conference, is before the War Department. It has become known that the Secretary of War from the very beginning has sympathetically considered the whole matter of utilizing the valued military experience and services of Colonel Young, who, until his retirement some months ago, was actively identified with the Regular Army.

The two concrete results here referred to, and the third one now "on the lap of the gods," would seem ample to justify the recent Conference of Colored Leaders and Editors, who sacrificed time and business interests to crystallize requests into tangible realities and demonstrate the value of intensive cooperation with the National Government.

N. Y. C. CALL
JUNE 6, 1918

"THE CRISIS."

Editor of The Call:

May I mention, in view of what Comrade Debs has written in the issue of June 3, that the Crisis Magazine will prove a great source of enlightenment and information to the Socialist who has never been interested in his darker brother?

The magazine is published at 70 Fifth avenue, New York city, and is the official paper for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I am certain that a request for a sample copy will not be ignored, especially now, when the organization has started a "drive" for new readers and members.

Every Socialist owes it to the Negro to give him, not only a fair hearing, but his help in the tremendous struggle he is waging. The struggle for a chance to prove himself a man of abilities and honor and decency, which he cannot do as long as the underdog of white society looks upon him as its underdog.

What, then, if at one time he was a slave? Who made him one? Does not the nation that degraded him owe him the chance to a regeneration? The harm done can never be undone—can never be atoned for save

by giving him the opportunity to educate himself to the standard he so much desires. Sincerely,
VERNE E. SHERIDAN.

"MR." TILLMAN

He was a man
 * * * * * ever ranking
 Himself with princes; one that by suggestion
 Tied all the Kingdom; * * * * *
 His own opinion was his law i' the presence
 He would say untruths; * * * * *
 * * * * * he was never,
 But where he meant to ruin, pitiful.
 Of his own body he was ill! * * * *

—Henry VII.

"Peace to the old fighter," says the esteemed Times of New York, extolling the late Tillman of South Carolina. Mercy, we should say, but if God's judgments are righteous altogether, there is much of neither peace nor mercy in the present habitat of the most delightful hypocrite that has ever, in all its history, held seat in the Congress of the United States. And hypocrisy has scarcely ever felt lonely within those stony walls of words and wags.

Benjamin Ryan Tillman, "of his own body ill," of his own mind an intellectual mobbist, and of his own heart full of sin and shame, upon his own words and according to the "deeds done in the body," rose to fame and fortune through deceit, fraud, the shotgun and appeal to the mob. His lone virtue was his color, and that were no virtue at all in a government of men rather than race, or, what we call "race." He was a man of one eye in the head and none in the soul. "Black Ben" they called him in and about Edgefield. And "Black Jim" they call Vardaman in Mississippi. It was because of the color-kin of these two to the darker men that these two fell to hating, abusing and killing darker men, in first one way, then another. "Stop thief" has long been the cry of thievery.

Tillman was a bloody man. His, as the court records testify in undisputed evidence, was a bloody family. Ben killed with his tongue and evil-eyed influence over drunken mobs; Jim, his nephew, killed with the gun. All things died under touch of the hand of this late senator—even South Carolina, now a withered flower, poisoned at the root, where once it bloomed almost to the full in promise among the sisterhood of states.

The hero the ready writers, changing and destroying records at will, would now make and mark this Tillman, this bitter man, this ill-shaped figure in whose tongue was wormwood for the humble and gall for the weak. But not so, for the pen that Lincoln fashioned from the steel of battle we may ourselves freely wield so that history may know who answered when Progress called, and who fell to deviltry. Tillman was a wicked influence in the life of the nation. Men know that. God knew it, and ere shades sank into the gloaming Tillman found that God is all memory.

The story of Tillman is a faithful picture of the "white South" at bloody work, against whom? Not the "black South" as such, but against the civilized North, against patriots discerning the hidden pen of history, and against, particularly, the Constitution as amended by pen following the lines of the rough draft as made by the sword.

Tillman's was the first loud voice of scorn and brag that began the re-enslavement of the Race emancipated by Lincoln at the very moment, and no later, when the Federal Government, committing the fatal blunder of freedom, surrendered the former slaves into the brutal hands of their former masters. He saw dark men and men mixed with bloods and customs rising on their dead selves as if on stepping stones to higher things, and proceeded to the business of arresting them. He excelled in his crimes. His was the calculating hand raised against both the Hamptonians and the Race men, among whom there was good feeling and respect for law, for order and for the authorities of written government. His platform was ignorance.

Tillman was not a learned man. He was an intellectual impostor, into the keeping of whose memory diligence had placed stanza after stanza of flamboyant doggerel and bits of Burkonian political philosophy. His voice was thin and narrow, after the voice of all fanatics. He was untidy in personal habits. His nose and mouth met in the perfect lines of the finished plebeian.

He claimed title as champion of the "white race." But the noble millions among the great white race in the civilized section of the nation—the builders of the mightiest of Republics—needed nor accepted his championship. He did speak, and well, for the low bred and licentious element of his own household. Praise of him will come from the vicious, not the virtuous historian. His is not a figure of emulation among the mighty world of white oaks in the forest of humanity.

Following Tillman's election to the governorship of South Carolina came the Constitutional Convention that disfranchised the Race. Then began the great decline which has continued to this day in what was once the intellectual seat of the Race. Upon his selection to the Senate of the United States, Tillman transferred his lying, filthy declamation to a wider hearing. In time he hanged himself by the twine of his own twisting, for honor is not dead among the favored in the nation. And even in South Carolina, the dead begins again to live and the living begins to die. In abuse of the Race that had fed him and his lazy tribe; in scandalizing the defenseless womanhood of the Race; in robbing that Race of both its friends and rights, and in persistent disgrace of the senatorial toga reserved by the fathers to men of honor, as they thought, Tillman will be remembered—but only for a sun or so. Such as he was is of clay, feet and heart and mind, and he soon forgot by history, except when dishonor is summoned to show the gold of honor. The Race that drew his fire now stands upon his grave, rising thereupon even higher, as if to gain a still more perfect view.

He leaves nothing behind save a name of shame, a record of hate, and a reputation as the political bully of his generation. When he reached the fatal land of burning eyeballs and such, he was burdened with being compelled to lift up but one eye, where others lifted up two.

The elements were so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world, God spare weeping humanity another such!

Equal Rights League Opposes Lynching and Discrimination

Chicago Defender Indorsed as National Organ; New Constitution Adopted; Sessions at Olivet Baptist Church

By Ida B. Wells-Barnett
 The National Equal Rights League, which convened in Chicago last week for its eleventh annual session, was by far the most largely attended and truly representative convention the league has held in its whole history. Men and women were here in response to the call from Boston, Mass., to Los Angeles, Cal., and from Michigan on the north to Louisiana on the south. They did great work, and all the delegates went back to their homes pledged to work anew for the establishment of local Equal Rights Leagues in every state in the Union.

Defender Becomes Organ

Not the least of the splendid work accomplished was that Editor R. S. Abbott of the Defender offered the columns of his paper to the convention, whereupon the national convention immediately adopted it as its organ. The other big things done by Chicago to show its appreciation of this important gathering was by Rev. L. K. Williams, pastor of the Olivet Baptist church, who gave the free use of that splendid church in which to hold our three days' session. Rev. B. J. Prince, pastor of the Original Provident Baptist church of the West Side, also tendered us free

his church for the closing session on Wednesday evening. Last, but by no means least, Miss Minotte tendered a reception to the delegates at her studio, 3543 South State street, on Friday afternoon, Sept. 20, which was a brilliant social success. The guests especially enjoyed her illustrated lecture on phrenology.

Synopsis of the Work Done

At the close of a three days' session of its eleventh annual meeting, attended by ninety delegates from twenty-three states, the National Equal Rights League adopted at a address to the counties which announced that a delegation from the league will seek an audience with President Wilson, urging measures by which he can help make America safe for democracy for all, and that at the "great convocation of the nations and races of the earth to form the new alignments out of the ruins of the world contest for human rights," the Colored American Race ought to be and will be there. The league's delegation to see the President consists of Rev. E. W. Moore of Columbus, Ohio; A. W. Whaley of Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Ida B. W. Barnett of Chicago, Ill.; Rev. S. R. Gipson of Chicago, Ill.; Dr. J. D. Gordon of Los Angeles, Cal.; N. S. Taylor, Esq., of Greenville, Miss.; D. J. Johnson of Tranton, Ark., and William Monroe Trotter of Boston, Mass. The league voted to send Race representatives to

the seat of the world peace conference at the close of the war to petition for full democracy for the Race in the new adjustment of the world on a democratic basis, and to call a National Equal Rights Representative Congress of the Race by local elected delegates for the purpose of choosing the peace petitioners at Washington on or after Jan. 1, 1919. Every community can send delegates.

Stop Lynching

The league pledged to the government, "in accordance with its just principles, the best that is in us." It indorsed woman suffrage, labor unions in so far as they did not draw the color line, protests against the refusal to employ government Colored clerks and employees of the quartermaster's department, and demanded that lynching be made a federal crime.

The league voted to recommend to the Colored citizens of the United States to observe annually Dec. 11 as a memorial day to the martyred soldiers of the Houston outbreak, which includes the six soldiers hanged Sept. 17. A new constitution was adopted. It was voted to ask the War Department to appoint additional Colored line officers, to supplant white noncommissioned officers with Colored ones, and to call Colored medical officers and nurses. The league voted to approve the suit of A. P. Pringleau of South Carolina against the clerk of the house of representatives in his election case. The league voted to have a pin made as an emblem of the association. Rev. J. T. Thomas was the temporary chairman of the opening session Tuesday morning, the convention lasting from Sept. 17 to 20, and Mrs. I. B. Wells-Barnett, chairman of the local committee of arrangements, temporary chairman until James L. Neill arrived. Sessions were held at Olivet Baptist church, Rev. L. K. Williams, pastor, until Thursday afternoon, and were concluded in the Original Provident Baptist church, Rev. B. J. Prince, pastor. Both churches donated the meeting places, together with the contributions during the sessions of the league. The pastors and congregations of both churches were given a vote of thanks unanimously by the delegates attending the league.

Newly Elected Officers 1918-1919

President—Rev. E. W. Moore, Columbus, Ohio.
 First Vice President—N. S. Taylor, Greenville, Miss.
 Second Vice President—Rev. A. Clay-ton Powell, New York, N. Y.
 Recording Secretary—James L. Neill, Washington, D. C.
 Assistant Recording Secretary—Mrs. Lula Simons, Chicago, Ill.
 Treasurer—Thomas Walker, Esq., Washington, D. C.
 National Organizer—Prof. Allen W. Whaley, Boston, Mass.
 Chaplain—Rev. B. J. Prince, Chicago, Ill.
 Sergeant-at-Arms—Edw. Richardson, Arcadia, Okla.
 Chairman Publicity Committee—Mrs. Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Chicago, Ill.
 National Lecturer—Rev. S. R. Gipson, Chicago.
 Corresponding Secretary—William Monroe Trotter, Boston, Mass.

National Executive Committee

Massachusetts, E. T. Morris; Rhode Island, Dr. W. H. Higgins; Arkansas, M. T. Jones; Ohio, Dr. W. J. Woodland; Pennsylvania, Mrs. Alex. Williams; Michigan, Rev. W. B. Baker; California, Dr. J. D. Gordon; Kentucky, W. Bell; Maryland, W. A. Hawkins, Esq.

New York, Rev. Byron Gunner; Oklahoma, A. J. Smitherman; Illinois, Dr. A. W. Spring; Alabama, S. H. Grant; Connecticut, Rev. C. S. Whitted; District of Columbia, Mrs. W. A. Butler; Mississippi, Rev. William Thomas; Florida, T. J. Williams; Iowa, E. W. Hendricks; Louisiana, Dr. J. H. Lory; Indiana, W. A. Howell; Tennessee, Dr. J. H. Crenshaw; Missouri, J. B. Coleman; South Carolina, William Howard; Kansas, I. F. Bradley.

White Methodist Minister

Disgraces House of God

By the Scrutinizer

Monroe, La., April 26.—When the order reached the writer to make this God-forsaken town for the purpose of investigating the "Rev." E. K. Means (white) and a member of the Methodist ministry, in order to verify reports as to his Race-hating activities, there was gloom in the Scrutinizer's sanctum. It is bad enough to be located south of the Mason and Dixor cause he has never emancipated himself from the slavery of bearing his burdens on his own back. The Indian and the misery is complete. But this had to be done. The report of the enlightened gentleman's Easter sermon, as published in the Monroe News-Star issue of April 1st, demanded verification. To the credit of the paper mentioned, be it said, it told the truth.

We will not go into details as to the "Rev." Means' patriotic talk; he was justified in that part of his sermon. It was his nauseating harangue regarding the members of the Race in his enlightened community that called for special attention and caused the writer's three days of misery in this T. & P. tank station. His references to "God and the Rock of Ages," in light of the words which followed, can be put down as either a fine hypocritical display or a religious camouflage of riot incitement. That a member of the cloth, in times like these, should make utterances of the sort that this comedian of the pulpit rid himself of, and in an Easter sermon, is almost unbelievable. Get this:

"You have one hour every day to walk through the Negro sections of this city and tell the countless, worthless wenchies sitting on the rickety porches and the lazy niggers loafing in the trashy yards that they had better get a job and go to work. I warn you right now that if you don't use your influence as white men to change the temper and the spirit of the Negroes of this town—if you don't put the fear of God and man into their souls so that these nigger bucks stop planning and whispering certain things that they propose to do, I warn you that Monroe will be down on the map side by side with the slaughter pen of Europe and there will be enough dead niggers in this town to build a bridge across the Ouachita river.

"And you have one hour every day to pray—pray, pray to God that He, in His infinite pity, will heal this great, ghastly, open sore of a world at war."

Here is a Methodist preacher, a regularly ordained minister of the gospel, debauching his pulpit with a murderous expression of his own accursed prejudice; in one breath making a fiery appeal to the brutal instincts which no doubt form a greater part of his congregation's make-up, and in the next advocating a campaign of prayer to God, who must have been filled with shame at the utterances of this

"sanctified" brayer. Does this man realize that there are today over 150,000 of these same "bucks" in the National Army, trained to the minute and ready to die for just such mutts as the "reverend" gentleman with the lynching bee buzzing in his hollow head? The writer feels too bitter to make further comment. This fellow should be the special guest of the respectable and law-abiding people of Monroe at one of their well-known nocturnal rail-riding parties.

NEW YORK MAIL

FEBRUARY 16, 1918

CAUSE OF NEGRO'S BACKWARD-

NESS.

The point I want to make is that the negro, who has never invented any sort of writing and who has neither history nor literature, is the lowest in point of civilization because he has never emancipated himself from the slavery of bearing his burdens on his own back. The Indian has emancipated himself from this burden only to a limited degree, and his civilization expresses itself in a few simple hieroglyphics.

While, as we shall see, other races who have more or less emancipated themselves from this burden of primitive transportation, have advanced in civilization in exact proportion as they have so emancipated themselves.

The advance of man, that is, his ability to better his condition, has been exactly in proportion as he has been able to scale the mountain, or to blaze a path through the forest, or to cross the river.

His progress has been in proportion to his ability to move himself from an unfavorable location to a more favorable one; to his ability to transport himself and his weapons or utensils from a place where unfavorable conditions surrounded him to a spot where nature better rewarded his struggle for existence.

In addition to the ox and the horse, primitive man domesticated the camel and crept out over the desert. He boxed his raft, turned his poles into paddles and his paddles into oars. From the time that man learned to trust himself upon the water the waterways have been the highways of civilization.

It was much easier to float downstream or to pole or paddle upstream than it was to attempt to break through the heavy vegetation that bordered the streams. And, as we shall see, from that time down to the development of railroads population and civilization have stayed close to the water.

The Phoenicians, who occupied the shores of the eastern Mediterranean for several hundred miles along the coast, have left no trace of their civilization beyond the foothills only six to a dozen miles inland from the sea.

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The Peace of Men
We mean the Negro men who shall return to America from "over here." They have been under proud military discipline, commanded by Race (subordinate) Commissioned Officers, been in contact with new forms of civilizations and new forms of government whose citizens are treated vastly different than is the Negro in the United States, especially in the Southern States. They will have acquired new ideals, and citizen life will mean a much different thing to them than before their call by the Government to go abroad to fight in the interest of World Democracy. They are not apt to return and tamely submit to the old conditions of proscription, segregation, jim-crowism, disfranchisement, lynchings, burning at the stake, see their women's bowels ripped open while hanging up by the feet, and undergo the insults, stigmas and limitation of legal, civil and constitutional rights after having ventured their all and lives for this country and its flag, and seen their comrades by the many thousands fall in battle, and many thousands of others crippled and maimed for life.

Indeed, even now a distinct change is taking place and sentiment is slowly but surely crystalizing into new ideals so far as the Negro is concerned. Despite the fact that he is loyal to the core, pure in his patriotic spirit, and as true for Democracy as any race of people God ever permitted to exist, he is insisting with a determination born of a purpose to succeed that the barriers to his progress advancement and happiness be removed, and be removed they MUST, popular white sentiment to the contrary even in the Southern States notwithstanding. The Negro is learning new lessons diplomacy, tact and efficiency, and these are his unfailing weapons in the struggle for his rights. The men from "over there" will not return with an arrogant strut, an impudent spirit and "scrappy" conduct, but with sober minds, conservative conduct, and with a proud and uncompromising, and unyielding determination not to be assigned to their former humiliating condition without vigorous protest in the use of every and all proper methods. The United States will have a brand new Negro citizen to deal with. His relatives and friends—white friends too—will join him, he will not have his new battles (different from them "over there") to fight alone. In the meantime, let us stay-at-homes remove as many of the Race barriers as possible before the boys come marching triumphantly home. A change in the natural demeanor of these men will be observable when they return. More especially will you note the change in their expression in the glance, in the indefinable abstract gaze that falls upon so many of them; the removed, detached, set-apart look of those who dwell one place in their souls,

and another in their bodies. The casual youth who dashed into the great advanced columns will return with a grim understanding of life and its meaning. While "over there" fighting for Home, Country, Flag and Democracy he thinks only as a patriot, loyal and brave soldier. When he comes back he will have another thought.

DOES PEACE MEAN DEMOCRACY AND PROTECTION FOR BLACK AMERICA WHO GAVE HER SONS?

The Topeka Plaindealer

The world war is over, so far as guns and ammunition go, but the war has just begun. Let every nation on the globe get together for the betterment of all. Let us not have any malice toward Germany or any of her entente. They were wrong, and they now see it. They have surrendered all to our side.

in the wars of 1776, 1812, 1861, 1898, 1918, and afterwards was enslaved, sold, outraged, seduced, lynched, burned, ostracised, Jim Crowed, and up to this day the race is not recognized by white America. On the other hand all foreigners that come to the American shores are received with open arms and given the best opportunities to earn a livelihood. They are not compelled to spend money to secure their rights at law, as does the black man, but all citizenship rights are bestowed upon him without the slightest protest.

The Southern white man rebelled against the union of states and waged one of the bloodiest conflicts ever known in history up to that time, yet after all of their outrages they were permitted to become citizens again, retained their property, and yet the black man who fought to put this white Southern rebel down and brought peace to all in this country is now bearing the brunt and insults of this same fellow. The idea of a man who rebelled against his country being allowed to browbeat and run over the men and their children who put them down! We hope this will not be the case of those who went overseas and offered their lives for freedom. All should stand on a level, and we predict that everybody is going to stand up for their rights, the South notwithstanding. We never offered to kill Jeff Davis nor any of his sympathizers. What are they doing? Everything against a loyal North and West and the black race. We are glad the President said: "Peace has come." Now let us watch and see. We think it not more than fair that a black man be placed upon the peace commission to be named. He has earned it, and there are thousands who are competent. We know France and England would not object but would gladly welcome a colored man on the commission. What will Democratic America do?

NICK CHILES, Editor.

night by their neighbors and friends. Mr. Taylor and one of his daughters will soon go to Colorado, for her health. Mr. Taylor will work in Colorado. He is a Missouri Pacific switchman.

Booker T. Washington said something when he said this: No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunity.

An Atchison soldier in France writes home to his folks: "Of course I love you all, and want to see you, and I appreciate all the kind things you have done for me during my life, but when I get back to Atchison the one thing I expect to appreciate most the remainder of my life."

Guam

Race Problem - 1918

United States ASKS PRESIDENT TO END NEGRO OUTRAGES

Professor Kelly Miller Says Time Has Come to Make Lawlessness
a National Issue as a War Measure—America Must Be
Made Safe for the Colored Race

POST
AUGUST 21, 1918

PROF. KELLY MILLER, of Howard University, perhaps the foremost scholar of the colored race in America, has written a remarkable open letter to President Wilson on behalf of his wronged and maltreated race. Referring to the recent occurrences at East St. Louis and Memphis, he says he feels that the issues involved are as important as any questions now pressing upon the President's attention, and call attention anew to the irritating race problem of which these outbreaks are but eruptive symptoms breaking forth ever and anon with Vesuvian violence. Professor Miller's letter reads in part as follows:

"For fully a generation American statesmanship has striven to avoid, ignore, or forget the perplexing race problem. But this persistent issue will not down at our bidding and cannot be shunted from public attention by other questions, however momentous or vital they may seem to be.

"There are 10,000,000 loyal citizens of African descent in the United States. They are rigorously excluded from a voice in the Government by which they are controlled. They have no regularly constituted organ through which to present their case to the powers that be. They have no seat nor voice in the council of the nation. The late Dr. Booker T. Washington was the accepted spokesman and mediator of the race, but he has no successor.

"Under former Administrations there was a small appointive official class of negroes. Though derisively designated as the 'Black Cabinet,' they were on the inside of the circle of governmental control to which they had ready access in presenting the claims of the race. But under the exaction of partisan exigencies even these have been excluded from official position under your Administration.

"Several weeks ago a delegation of colored men from the State of Maryland sought an interview with you concerning the horrible crime of East St. Louis. You were good enough to write Senator France that you were too busy with other pressing issues to grant the request of an interview. The failure of all other methods is my only excuse for resorting to an open letter as a means of reaching you, and, through you, the nation at large concerning the just grievances of 10,000,000 loyal American citizens.

GOVERNMENT WITHOUT CONSENT.

"The negro feels that he is not regarded as a constituent part of American democracy. This is our fundamental grievance and lies at the basis of all other termination and avowed declaration on

the part of the President speaking for the people of the United States to put an end to lawlessness wherever it raises its hideous head.

AS TO FEDERAL AUTHORITY.

"I know that it has been steadily maintained that the Federal Government has no authority over lynchings and local race conflicts. This is not a political contention. This view was maintained under the Administrations of Harrison, Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. Indeed, President Cleveland, that great American diplomat, came nearer recognizing Federal responsibility in such matters than any President before or since his time.

"The evil is, indeed, national in its range and scope, and the nation must provide the remedy. Striking indeed is the analogy between the spread of lawlessness to-day and the extension of the institution of slavery two generations ago. Like slavery, lawlessness cannot be localized. As the nation could not exist half slave and half free under Abraham Lincoln, so it cannot continue half law-abiding and half lawless under Woodrow Wilson.

"Already there have been burnings of human beings in the bleeding State of old John Brown and in the city where lie the remains of Abraham Lincoln. During the past thirty years nearly 3,000 negroes have been lynched in various parts of the country. Scores of these have been burned at the stake. Even the bodies of women have been fed to the flames. Thousands of localities in the majority of the States of the Union have experienced these outrages.

NOT LIMITED TO RACE.

"Lynching cannot be confined to the negro race. Hundreds of white men have been the victims of lawlessness and violence. While these words are flowing from my pen news comes over the wire that a labor agitator has been lynched in the State of Montana. Although the negro is at present the chief victim of lawlessness, like any other evil disease it cannot be limited by racial lines.

"Mr. President, you are Commander-in-Chief of the army press the voice of the people in the great war involves practically the race. You are the accented of the world democracy sounded forth the trumpet of civilization of the nations which shall call retreat. But, Mr. President, a link is no stronger than its weakest link. doctrine that breaks down at home is not fit to be propagated abroad. One is reminded of the pious slave-holder who became so deeply impressed with the plea for foreign missions that he sold one of his slaves to contribute liberally to the cause. Why democratize the nations of the earth if it leads them to delight in the burning of human beings after the manner of Springfield, Waco, Memphis, and East St. Louis.

"The negro feels that he is not regarded as a constituent part of American democracy. This is our fundamental grievance and lies at the basis of all other termination and avowed declaration on

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while the nation looks helplessly on? "It is needless to attempt to place the blame on the helpless negro. In the early stages of these outbreaks there was an attempt to fix an evil and lecherous reputation on the negro race as lying at the basis of lynching and lawlessness. Statistics most clearly refute this contention. The great majority of the outbreaks cannot even allege rapeful assault in extenuation. It is undoubtedly true that there are imbruted and lawless members of the negro race, as there are of the white race, capable of committing any outrageous and hideous offence. The negro possesses the imperfections of his status. His virtues as well as his failures are simply human. It is a fatuous philosophy, however, that would resort to cruel and unusual punishment as a deterrent to crime. Lynching has never made one negro virtuous, or planted the seed of right-doing in the mind of a single American citizen.

SHOULD ENCOURAGE NEGRO.

"The negro should be encouraged in all right directions to develop his best manly and human qualities. Where he deviates from the accepted standard he should be punished by due process of law. But as long as the negro is held in general despite and suppressed below the level of human privilege, just so long will he produce a disproportionate number of individuals of evil propensity.

"The time has come to make lawlessness a national issue, as a war measure if not for any higher consideration. As a patriotic and military necessity, I suggest that you ask the Congress of the United States to invest you with the power to prevent lynching and to quell lawlessness and violence in all parts of the country during the continuance of the war. Or at least you might quicken the conscience of the nation by a stirring message to Congress calling attention to this growing evil which is gnawing at the vitals of the nation.

"It is entirely probable that before the war is over you will have to resort to some such measure to control internal disturbances on other accounts. It is inconceivable that this nation should spend billions of dollars and sacrifice the lives of millions of its citizens without domestic uprising and revulsion. In such a time it becomes necessary for the President to exercise all but dictatorial power. The country is willing to grant you anything you ask which, in your judgment, would promote the welfare of the nation in this crisis.

"Mr. President, negroes all over this nation are aroused as they have never been before. It is not the wild hysterics of the hour, but a determined purpose that this country shall be made a safe place for American citizens to live and work and enjoy the pursuits of happiness.

"Mr. President, 10,000,000 of your fellow-citizens are looking to you and to the God whom you serve to grant them

relief in this hour of their deepest distress."

COLORED RACE IS HELPED BY WAR

Doors of Opportunity Are Opened
Wider.

RIISING TO A HIGHER PLANE

NEGRO MUST WORK OUT HIS
OWN DESTINY.

Great Strides Made and Confidence

Increased in the Race by Its Part
In the War, at Home and in the
Army—Many Barriers Partly
Lifted and Prejudice Reduced by
Personal Contact in War Activities.

BY J. Y. BRATTAN.

The statewide exposition and fair held by the colored race at Salisbury last week has visualized the progress which the race is making in Maryland. The display of agricultural and home-made products, we are told, was creditable, demonstrating that among the negroes of the state there exists a genuine spirit and determination to go forward. Governor Harrington made a speech in which he gave praise where praise was due to the race.

We are further told that Walter B. Miller, who ranks not only as one of the leading citizens of Wicomico county, but of the whole state, and other white citizens of Salisbury, lent their presence to the fair and gave their applause to the achievements of a people who emerged from serfdom 55 years ago. This mingling, which does not mean equality between the white and colored races, carries the lesson that by such expositions as that at Salisbury race prejudice can be dissipated and race barriers lifted in part at least.

If the worth while colored men and women of Baltimore would hold such a fair as that held in Salisbury it would serve good purposes. Certainly the pride of the race would be aroused and stimulated.

The fair at Salisbury was an outgrowth of the war. It was held by the Colored Section of the Maryland Council of Defense, of which Rev. Dr. C. Ernest Lyon, former minister to Liberia, is chairman. This section, as Gen. Francis E. Waters, chairman of the executive committee of the council, has testified, has responded most creditably to its duties in carrying on the worldwide war for human liberty, just as a war was fought on American soil over 50 years ago which brought freedom to the negro. The race has also responded on a larger scale than was expected to the calls for subscriptions to Liberty Bonds and to War Savings Stamps.

Just so long as the war lasts and after peace supplants war there are

and there will be Herculaean tasks which will fall to the negro.

PROGRESS BY WAR.

The present war has opened wider the fields of opportunities to colored men and colored women. While it is true that their opportunities have been created by shortage of labor, it is also true that these opportunities have not been neglected. We find negro men doing work which was exclusively assigned to white men. We see colored women operating elevators, serving as waitresses in hotels, at soda water fountains, and plying the needle in government plants. There has been glaring inequality in wages between white and colored labor. Whether the negro has saved his large earnings I have no means of knowing. I am informed, however, that there has been a most decided improvement in the furnishings of their homes and in the wearing apparel of himself and of his family. The prosperity of the race is bewailed in many homes of the whites because the colored servants are now their own housekeepers. It is even said the wives of colored workmen are employing cooks and laundresses that they may the more thoroughly enjoy their new lives.

Of course there will come a slump sometime. It will not come while the war lasts nor will follow immediately the close of the war, for production of domestic commodities at a low ebb and will diminish with the continuance of the war.

Demolished and devastated Europe must be restored.

The result is that both white and colored labor will find abundant employment for several years after the war, though not at present high wages, which have been set by haste of the government in meeting the material exigencies of the war and by labor shortage due to the withdrawal of millions of men for Army service.

BARRIERS PARTLY LEVELED.

The close contact in the factories and elsewhere between the whites and colored laborers has partly leveled the barriers between them. It will depend largely upon the colored race whether this leveling process shall continue, whether a more amicable understanding shall be arrived at, and whether race prejudice shall be minimized. If the colored people, because of their greater prosperity, seek to thrust themselves into places where they know they are not welcome, if they invade white residential localities and if they do other things objectionable to the white race they will retard, instead of advance their progress. I am reminded of a story going the rounds that a white woman, who approached a colored woman and asked her where she could find a cook. She was told to go home and look in her own mirror. If such remarks were ever made it will do infinite harm in widening the chasm between the races. In approaching the race question from any angle the fact must not be overlooked that the white is the primary and the colored the secondary race. This classification is not the work of man. It is the work of the Creator. Students of anthropology tell us that millions of years elapsed between the development of the white and the colored races, the white race being the older with the yellow races next. When, therefore, the colored race

complains of its secondary position it must look beyond human causes for the true causes. The fact should also be borne in mind that the colored race developed no civilization. To its credit it may be said, however, that the race, by a large majority, has assimilated our civilization. Like the North American Indian, who also did not develop a civilization, the negro shows a greater aptitude in taking our vices than in taking our virtues. Hence the prohibition movement in the South.

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN.

It is the white man's burden, with education as a lever, to elevate the colored race that elements in the white race may not sink to the level of the worst elements in the colored race. There must be no intermarriage. A mongrel race in North America would be no better than the elements in the population of South American states, in which the native Indian, the colored people and the Spaniards have produced an absolutely worthless progeny.

The white man's burden in the world today is heavier than at any period in history. I should more properly say the burden of the Anglo-Saxon, the great colonization race, and Romantic nations, France and Italy, is weighing heavily. Upon these nations in their struggle against the autocracy of Germany, and her Allies rests the responsibility of the life of that civilization which guarantees liberty to the individual. The marked difference between the Anglo-Saxon and Romantic civilization on one side and the Teutonic "kultur" on the other is that the former stands for the individual first and the government second, while the latter stands for the government first and the individual second. If Lincoln's immortal words defining our Republic "as a government of the people, by the people and for the people" were translated into German it could not be comprehended by the average Teutonic mind.

FOR A HIGHER GOAL.

When the white man forgets his duty to the colored man both must inevitably suffer. We hear daily of colored men who work only two or three days each week, during which they earn sufficient wages to enable them to exist for the remainder of the week. To my mind, this shows lack of ambition. They believe that there is no higher goal for them. And there will be no decided improvement until the negro can be made to believe that there is a higher sphere for him, and that, though that sphere will necessarily be a servile one, more or less, for years to come, he can become a useful and respected factor in this world. In my own home there are two colored women, one of whom has served my family for nearly 25 years, while the other has been in our employ for over 13 years. There is no nagging, no abuse, no ill treatment of those two women. They have the same meals which are set upon our own table. They know that as long as we have a home that home will also be theirs.

I am making no excuse, no pleas for idle, thriftless negroes. I do, however, ask for a fair, square deal for those colored people who are worthy of it.

MARYLAND'S RESPONSE.

Maryland is responding to her duty to elevate the colored race by educa-

On. Said Governor Harrington at Salisbury on this subject last week:

"The negro is with us and is here to stay. To me his salvation and our salvation is not his ignorance, but his education, so that not only in the new school law of 1916, but in the appropriation for 1918 for the public schools, in the increase of the appropriation from \$1,750,000 to \$2,000,000 for public school purposes, I saw to it that the negro would receive his just proportion thereof and likewise in the extra appropriation which I placed in the budget of \$150,000 to aid the teachers' salaries for the year 1918 on account of the greatly increased cost of living during the war. I saw to it that the salaries of the negro teachers would share the appropriation. I also provided for Morgan College an appropriation of \$1,000, their first appropriation, and, in addition thereto, put in my budget an appropriation of \$10,000 to buy a farm for agricultural training purposes for their agricultural college at Princess Anne. And this is not all that was done. After listening to several of your prominent leaders of the state, I put in my budget an appropriation of \$5,000 for the purpose of giving the colored people of the state an opportunity to have this fair.

ought to adjourn politics.

Perhaps, and we devoutly hope that such a result will follow, that during the war and after the war the negro will adjourn politics and devote his energies, his activities and his best efforts to his work. The right to vote has been an obstacle rather than a benefit to the race as a whole in its march forward. President Lincoln, who gave the race its freedom, at no time advocated the bestowal of suffrage upon the colored man en masse. In a letter to Governor Hahn, of Louisiana, the first Union governor in the South during the war period, Mr. Lincoln urged gradual suffrage for the negro, limiting it at first to the educated men of the race and to those who had served in the Union Army and Navy. Mr. Lincoln did not live long enough to put his idea into practical operation. After his most untimely and unfortunate death the radical Republicans thrust the vote into the negro's hands without regard to his intelligence or appreciation of the responsibility which the ballot carries.

Political and civil woes without number have followed.

But the negro has the right to vote and, while his vote is suppressed in the South, here in Maryland he exercises his right. That right has been broadened by the repeal of the Wilson ballot law, which practically imposed an educational qualification on five Southern Maryland counties.

We must therefore, deal with the negro vote, not as a theory, but as a condition. I am thoroughly convinced that the negro could bring a distinct gain to this state and to his race by dividing his vote between the two parties. It is not conducive to good citizenship that the Republican party should be compelled to carry such a burden as is a large mass of ignorant and prejudiced negroes. There are tens of thousands of white men in Maryland who believe in the principles of the Republican party, and who would vote for the candidates of that party but for a fear that by such votes they may elevate the negro particularly.

DEMOCRATS' MISTAKES.

And yet the negro can hardly be blamed for his devotion to the Republican party and his fidelity to it, not only because it was the party which made his freedom possible, but also because the Democrats in Maryland and elsewhere have persecuted him. Here in Maryland the Democrats enacted the Wilson Ballot Law at a special session of the legislature in 1901. This law was wiped off the statute books by the last legislature. The Democratic leaders followed up the Wilson Law by submitting the Poe disfranchising amendment to the Constitution in 1903; later the Straus amendment, and still later the Diggs amendment, which would have entirely obliterated the colored vote in Maryland. All three amendments were signally defeated.

Is it any wonder that the negro has clung to the Republican party for protection?

When the movement for the series of political persecutions of the negro by trick ballots and then by proposed amendments to the Constitution began in 1901 United States Senator John Walter Smith, who was then governor, declared in the conference of the leaders of his party that the proposed legislation would be unwise. He pointed out a decided movement, which had then set in among colored voters, to switch to the Democratic party. He was overruled by the late Senator Gorman and other Democratic leaders. The extra session of 1901 was called by Governor Smith and the campaign of disfranchisement was inaugurated. Governor Smith proved to be a prophet. Colored men who had broken away from old party ties and who were voting the Democratic ticket, in part, if not as a whole, were forced back into the ranks of the Republican party. Let us hope that the repeal of the Wilson Ballot Law and the new nationalism born of the war will again turn the eyes of a large part of the negro vote to the Democratic party. By such action his political freedom will become possible.

Colonization of the negro since his emancipation has been tried and has proved to be a failure.

"Even the immortal Lincoln," said Governor Harrington at Salisbury last week, "who throughout his life had shown the deepest interest in the welfare of the negro race, at one time thought that the only and best solution of the negro question was to go to Africa and there found a colony for them, but history has shown that even Lincoln in this respect was mistaken. The proper place for the negro and the only place for the negro is here in America. Yea, if you will permit, in the Southern States, there to be and there to remain to work out his own destiny. Some times the ways of God are dark and inscrutable, but out of the gloom, the uncertainty and the storm, the sun comes forth in all its noonday splendor and the world has become more fit for the coming of the King of Glory. The American nation today realizes this truth, and the colored race realizes it. And as the colored race is with us, his salvation and our salvation requires that he be educated, not only in the primary grades, but in secondary schools and colleges, that men and women of their own race teach them to think and act upon all public questions upon the merits of the questions themselves, and not from prejudice, and to teach their people the duties of citizenship, to teach

them to be sober, industrious and thrifty, so that they may be better citizens, and may by their correct living and right living earn for themselves the respect and confidence of their fellow men."

COLONIES FOR CONVICTS.

Colonies for both white and colored convicts and criminals, I am convinced, will contribute as much as any other cause to the betterment of the two races. In the Philippine Islands are ideal facilities for the establishment and maintenance of negro convict colonies, which, under strong and well-directed discipline, would be self-supporting. The California peninsula, which could be purchased from Mexico, would be an ideal colony for white convicts by whose work, skill and industry, also directed under strong discipline, it would be transformed into a veritable paradise. The best era in England's history was when she transported her convicts. It seems to me that if we resort to segregation of contagious diseases for the benefit of the community at large we should also segregate vice and crime which are as fatal to our moral development as are yellow fever, the plague and smallpox to our lives.

It has long appeared that the prime necessity of the negroes is to learn to distinguish between negroes and negroes; between the law-abiding and self-respecting negro and the law-breaker and blackguard; between the honest man and the thief; the decent man and the dive-frequent; the good citizen and the "tough"—in other words, to create for themselves some standard of virtue and right living for both men and women according to which they shall be classified.

The negro must work out his own destiny. This fact was frankly and plainly emphasized by Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte in 1906, then secretary of the Navy in President Roosevelt's cabinet, to an Afro-American conference held in Washington. Wherever, as in the temperate and cold regions of America, South Africa, Australia and the islands of the South Sea, Mr. Bonaparte said, the white man had made himself at home his presence had been fatal to all other races except the negro race. Indians and Australians and Polynesians had died off before the white man, but the black race had not.

Mr. Bonaparte therefore argued that the negro could not afford to be lazy and ignorant and vicious, for all around him, pressing him on every side, was a race with which he had to compete, whether he wished to or not, and which it would tax all his energies to struggle against.

"There is no room in America for people who cannot take care of themselves," continued Mr. Bonaparte. "I am one of those who feel strongly the repeated injustice and frequent perfidy which have marked our treatment of the Indians; but, after all has been said, the Indians wouldn't or couldn't, or at all events didn't, learn how to work in competition with the white men, and they have been first pushed to the wall and then crushed against it.

"You must either share their fate or profit by their example. You can't, in this country 'rest and be thankful,' for, if you try to do this, you will soon have nothing to be thankful for. The idle and sensual and benighted are never really free,

and America now is a country only for freemen."

Race Problem - 1918

United States WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

(By DR. JOHN W. GILBERT of Augusta,
Georgia.)

2/28/18

(Continued from last week.)

Christian Index

The great nightmare of the South is often said to be the fear of "Social equality," better defined as social intermingling. Why, this sentiment ought to be changed at once. It is but one of the frightful tools of the wily politician hunting for ignorant white voters. Same Negroes naturally seek each other as do the whites, and race pride makes them feel that their race is better than any other race for them, as regards social intermingling.

The pulpit, the press and the politician are the three greatest agencies which create sentiment. But if the worse sentiment ever differs from even the best law, sentiment prevails, despite the law to the contrary. Sometimes wicked and unjust sentiment is enacted into discriminatory laws which destroy finally both the makers and the victims of such unholy means of trying to prove that "might is right." "Watchman, what of the night?"

In the matter of nearly every injustice to the Negro, and especially in the matters of lynching and mob violence the white pulpit is well nigh silent. The white preachers that I have known familiarly are all right at heart as their private talks to me and other Negroes show; but for fear of the sacrifice of personal popularity (I can't see what other motive could impel them) the "courage of their righteous convictions," is rarely, almost never, strong enough to evoke a sermon from them on the nation's injustice to the Negro. But God will yet raise up men who, like Ezekiel, will not fear to decry wrong doing wherever it may be found in Church or State. There is no defense in the claim

that it is "not proper to discuss social and political problems in the pulpit." The teachings of Christ are commensurate with every human condition and need. The devil is between the white man and the Negro. Primarily, it is the duty of the black and white preachers along with all the Y. M. C. A.'s, Y. W. C. A.'s and other religious bodies to kill this devil whose name is unrighteous sentiment. The preaching the days of slavery Southern farmer and religious worker will find theirs gave \$100,000 annually for "Missions to the Slaves." God bless Bishop Capers and Wightman of South Carolina. If the present day preacher sick man by the way who having been passed by the priest and the Levite and that of Bishop Atticus G. Haygood of Georgia, they will do all they can today by way of preaching and prayer to help the dependent "Brother in Black." The Negro loves the South better than he does any other place in the world and would stay there for all time were the devil of ill sentiment and hatred run out of the land.

"All men are equal in God's sight.
There is no black, there is no white,
There is no high, there is no low,
There is no rich, there is no poor.

"The petty distinction of race and caste,
Are shrivelled and shrunk in the furnace
blast
Of God's great love.

"And the gates of heaven as wide do
swing,
For the lowliest Negro as the lordliest
King,
While the fires of hell burn just as bright
For rich or poor; for black or white."

St. John did not believe a man could hate his brother and love God at the same time. What I am saying does not apply to any particular section or denomination, but to all alike. I believe that the pulpit can and should contribute more than any other agency to the creation of a righteous sentiment and even laws which will destroy injustice and mob violence that are ever operative mainly against the black man. I pray God that the day may hasten in its coming when Negro ministers will preach, as they are now doing, against the sins that cause lynching, and mob violence and injustices; and white ministers will

preach against lynching, mob violence and all injustices. We teach our preachers that they must be makers of sentiment for their flock, and not cringing followers thereof. We, two races, brought up together in the South can't afford to hate each other, if we would be able to meet the question: "Watchman, what of the night?" by the answer, "The morn cometh." During the days of slavery Southern farmers gave \$100,000 annually for "Missions to the Slaves." God bless Bishop Capers and Wightman of South Carolina. If the present day preacher sick man by the way who having been passed by the priest and the Levite and that of Bishop Atticus G. Haygood of Georgia, they will do all they can today by way of preaching and prayer to help the dependent "Brother in Black." The Negro loves the South better than he does any other place in the world and would stay there for all time were the devil of ill sentiment and hatred run out of the land.

Another agency in the reform which so many of our States need, if we would really create a sentiment against lynching, mobs and the other forms of injustice and humiliation inflicted upon the Negro, is the printing press. With regards to the Negro very many editors of news papers and magazines, and authors of books are subservient to the sentiment of either their patrons or often to that of the owners and promoters of their publications. These writers strive ever to satisfy the tastes and sentiments of their bosses and readers. Except for their native and acquired ability to use the English language correctly, their own personality, their own hearts' sentiment dares not appear in print. Violative of the rule of grammar, but nevertheless in accord with a public humiliating usage, when speaking of the Negro, they begin this proper noun, Negro, with a small "n" in ninety cases out of a hundred. The name of every race and tribe on earth but that of the

Negro is begun with a capital letter. Except when it is the first word of a sentence the word of the Negro is spelled with a small "n" just as we spell the names of brutes. Usage growing out of sentiment brings to the race this ever present humiliation. Even the Negro woman is a "negress," classifiable because of the small "n" plus the suffix "ess" with the lioness and tigress. Jewess has the suffix "ess" but not the small "j" to begin the word. "Watchman, what of the night?" Will the morning ever come?

Books like Carroll's "The Negro, a Beast," and Dixon's "The Clansman," "The Leopard Spots," and "The Birth of a Nation" are most cruel and poisonous effusions for white and black to read. White men and boys who read these books and who become inflamed by their untruthful and soul destroying sentiments against black men and women feel that, in lynching, nobbing and otherwise torturing a Negro they are doing no more than

(Continued on page 7)

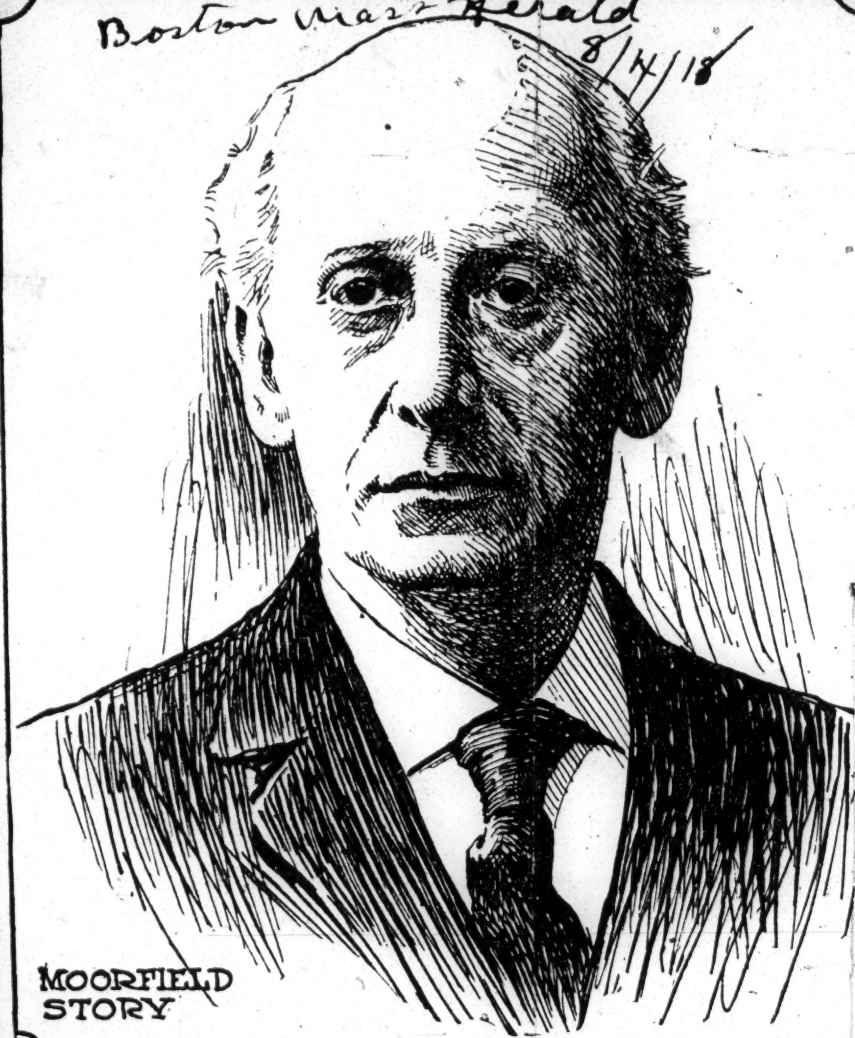
THE RECORD OF EAST ST. LOUIS AND HOUSTON

East St. Louis was visited by one of the worst race riots in history, a siege of murder, brutality, arson and other crimes, hitherto of such a loathsome character as to challenge belief. After hearing all evidence we believe the riots—at least the occurrences which led up to them—were deliberately plotted—Grand Jury report.

At Houston no one who reads the evidence can doubt that the Negroes were stung into action by great provocation. Here are the comparative figures:

HOUSTON	EAST ST. LOUIS
17 white persons killed	125 Negroes killed.
13 colored soldiers hanged.	10 colored men imprisoned for fourteen years.
41 colored soldiers imprisoned for life.	4 white men imprisoned fourteen to fifteen years.
4 colored soldiers imprisoned.	5 white men imprisoned five years.
5 colored soldiers under sentence of death; temporarily reprieved by President.	11 white men imprisoned under one year.
40 colored soldiers on trial for life.	18 white men fined. One colored man still on trial for life.
White policeman who caused the riot not even indicted.	17 white men acquitted.
No white army officers tried.	(Civil law.)
(Military law.)	

Boston Mass Herald
8/4/18



MOORFIELD
STORY

The Black Man's Burden, the White Man's Crime

Boston Mass Herald
In this article Mr. Storey declares that:
8/4/18

Negroes the country over are subjected to indignities simply because they are Negroes.

If only charged with crime or even misdemeanor they are at the mercy of the mob.

In public parks, conveyances and offices they are set apart.

Labor unions refuse them membership.

The great body of the community approves lynchings, or these crimes would stop.

Lynching is no preventive of crimes against women.

To the mob the charge is proof of guilt.

White men were afraid to let Negroes learn and did their best to make them brutes.

Legislative action has virtually re-established slavery.

The fault is the white man's, not the Negro's.

In the South each Democrat votes for himself and for one or more Negroes, in effect, and consequently exercises a much larger influence in the choice of President and Congress than the voter in Massachusetts.

The suppression of the Negro vote injures the whole country.

Pennsylvania and Illinois have furnished hideous examples of lynching, as well as Georgia and Tennessee.

If lynchers go unpunished we may find their methods employed against capitalists, lawyers, courts and public officers.

The dangers which threaten our civilization from lawlessness are greater and more real than Prussian soldiers can inflict.

CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN TOTAL ONLY 16 PER CENT.

Boston Mass Herald
"The excuse that such things are done to prevent crimes against women is without foundation. Let me answer it by Southern testimony. Dr. W. C. Scroggs of the Louisiana State University says: 'Not only is lynching no preventive of crimes against women, but statistics prove that only one time in four are such crimes the cause of lynching. In 1915 only 16 per cent. of the persons lynched were CHARGED with crimes against womanhood.' I have emphasized the word 'charged' for a charge is easily made and often falsely, as figures abundantly prove. In court the man who is charged is presumed to be innocent. To the mob the charge is proof of guilt."

"The figures for 1917 abundantly confirm Dr. Scroggs:

Rape and attempted rape.....	11
Murder	5
Assault and wounding.....	4
Robbery and theft.....	6
White women (intimacy, annoying, striking, entering room, etc)....	7
Race prejudice (refusing to give up farm, accidental killing).....	2
Opposing draft	1
Resisting arrest	1
Unreported	4
Vagrancy, disputing	3
Killed by mobs.....	178
Total.....	222

TWO LYNCHINGS A WEEK FOR 30 YEARS

Boston Mass Herald
8/4/18
"More dangerous and more wicked than neglect is the barbarous cruelty of lynching. I need not revive the figures of the past. What has happened within a year is enough. Since the United States entered the war a careful investigation shows that 219 Negro men, women and children have been killed and lynched by mobs in addition to two white men, one of these being Robert Prager. Four Negroes were lynched in Alabama, 2 in Arkansas, 1 in Florida, 7 in Georgia, 1 in Kentucky, 11 in Louisiana, 3 in Mississippi, 1 in North Carolina, 2 in Oklahoma, 2 in South Carolina, 5 in Tennessee, 9 in Texas, 3 in Virginia, 1 in West Virginia and 1 in Wyoming. In addition to these cases 175 men, women and children were tortured, burned and killed at East St. Louis in July, 1917, and three Negroes were killed by a mob at Chester, Pennsylvania, in September 1917. Since 1885 between 3000 and 4000 cases of lynching have been reported and in only three instances does investigation show that any lyncher was punished. In two of these cases the victim of the mob was white. In the third case, that of a particularly atrocious murder of a Tennessee farmer and his two daughters, the lynchers were two young and friendless white boys."

"Between May 15 and June 2 last three colored men and one woman were lynched in Georgia for alleged complicity in a murder, one has been lynched and his body burned in Tennessee, the whole colored population of the town being forced to witness the burning, and a mother and her five sons have been shot to death in Texas on account of an altercation between one of them and a white man, the woman's daughter also being fatally wounded."

CORRESPONDENCE

The Negro in War-Time

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

I read with a great deal of interest the article, "The Negro in War-Time," by Bolton Smith, in the issue of THE PUBLIC, August 31. Mr. Smith's thirty years residence in the heart of the South entitles him to attention whenever he says anything on the Negro question, for it is to be expected that he should know something about it. Of course, over against this advantage of nearness is the well known law of vision which makes it impossible for one who is too close to an object to see it in its true proportions. I believe that Mr. Smith sincerely wishes to be fair, and that he is as fair as his environment makes it possible for him to be; but he falls under the operation of the law just cited.

It is generally accepted as true that the white man in the South knows the Negro. It would be more exact to say that the white man in the South knows Negroes; that is, he knows Jim and Dan and Uncle Eph and Uncle Mose and Aunt Chloe and Aunt Sue. And he knows in a general sort of way that there are in the community Negroes of education, culture and some degree of wealth; but of these he has no more intimate knowledge than he has of the Ukrainians or the Czecho-Slovaks.

The fact is, the white man in the South knows a good deal about the Negro, but he does not know the Negro. He is familiar with the Negro's habits, his mode of speech, his peculiarities and whims, his humor and good nature; that is, he knows the Negro from the outside. But of the bitterness and anguish of soul that the race so often passes through, of its hopes and yearnings and aspirations the white man of the South knows almost nothing. The reason for this is that conditions make it next to impossible for the Southern white man to put himself in the sympathetic attitude or relationship that would enable him to know the Negro from the inside; and not only that, but these same conditions make it impossible for the Negro to put himself in the attitude or relationship to reveal his inner self to the Southern white man. A white New England school teacher in three years of experience in a colored school in the South can gain a deeper knowledge of the Negro than a Southern white woman can gain in a lifetime. This is one of the most serious and lamentable phases of the whole problem.

The inability of the white man in the South to know and understand the Negro beneath the surface is well illustrated in Mr. Smith's article. He gives several incidents to show a widespread discontent among the colored people of the country, and he attributes this discontent to German influence; he says: "All this talk plays so well into the hands of Germany that it may well be secretly promoted by German influence, and remote as such a contingency may seem to our unsuspicious minds, we may find that many Negroes are in fact fomented or aggravated by German influence, and that the sullen attitude and more

imperative demand for better treatment noticeable among Southern Negroes of late is fed from that source." Perhaps Mr. Smith does not know that the present discontent among the colored people is not fomented by pro-German propaganda but by anti-Negro propaganda; however, we must charge him with either ignorance or insincerity when he says, "We may find that many Negro lynchings are in fact fomented or aggravated by German spies"; he ought to know that more than three thousand Negroes have been lynched in this country during the thirty years preceding the war.

The following is one of the illustrations of the "changing attitude" of the Negro which Mr. Smith gave:

"A Negro chauffeur went without supper at an aviation camp to which he had taken some Y. M. C. A. performers, because the sutler outside the gate when asked to sell him a sandwich answered gruffly: 'Yes, I'll hand it to you through the window. You can't come in here.' The man said to me: 'I told him that I had not expected to eat in there, but I didn't like to feel I wasn't good enough to go inside his shack to buy it.' I have known this Negro man for years and am sure this feeling—or the will to show it—is of recent growth, and the fact that he went supperless for its gratification shows it is held with some tenacity."

Now, it is not that the war and German propaganda have worked any sudden change in this chauffeur; it is rather that the war and the bogey of German propaganda have worked a change in Mr. Smith. It is that Mr. Smith now notices some things to which he has hitherto been blind. He says that he has known this colored man for years; yet, the thing which this man had long carried deep in his heart, the thing for which he was ready to undergo privation and pain was something that Mr. Smith knew nothing about.

It seems difficult for Southern white people to realize that under injustice and insult and humiliation a Negro will suffer a perfectly normal human reaction. Perhaps to many of them it has never occurred that a Negro could feel humiliated and insulted. And so the statement is often made that Negroes object to Jim Crow cars because they want to ride with white people. Colored people who object to Jim Crow cars do so for three reasons: They object to the inferior accommodations; they object to being compelled to pay full, first class fare for these accommodations; and, above all, they resent the humiliation of being "Jim Crowed."

Mr. Smith said in his article that the failure of the conservative friends of the Negro (Does Mr. Smith mean Southern friends?), to announce any policy or to organize for his protection leaves such an organization as the National Association for the Advancement

of Colored People and such newspapers as the Crisis in well nigh complete possession of the field. Mr. Smith's implication here is that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its organ, the Crisis, are radical in the wild-eyed sense of the term. In fact, if the Advancement Association and the Crisis are radical, they are so only by comparison with the attitude of others on the Negro question. They do not advocate the overthrow of anything or our unsuspicious minds, we may find that many even any fundamental changes; they contend only for the fulfillment of the guarantees in the Constitution, for the impartial interpretation and application of the

the water, but being unable to adjust himself to his relations, he drowns; another who can adjust himself, swims and lives. One man exposed to the cold of winter and unable to meet its rigors, is found a frozen corpse; another faces the same cold and gets vigor, tingling blood, abounding life from it. One man takes strychnine and kills himself; another takes it and it becomes a tonic. The power to harmonize is the power to live. There is a little insect bred in fresh water that does not die if salt be cast into the water; he simply changes his form and becomes more active than ever. Every race must answer to the salt or die. The Negro has proven his ability to answer. Now and then the colored man feels that he has adapted himself to his national surroundings, but again comes forth barbaric gleanings like that at Hazelhurst, Mississippi, then the colored man wonders what and where for his family if the law is not to be given its course.

Secondly—He must be able to assimilate. This power is almost the opposite of the first. One is the ability to bend; the other, the ability to make bond. One, to be agreeable; the other, to make agreeable. One to swallow; the other, to digest. On a barren stretch of shore, where all was salt and sand, and sun, shipwrecked mariners often perished for want of food. till one day a cocoanut drifted there and took root. It ate of the sand, and drank of the brine and breathed of the withering, till out of them it built a tree laden with life-giving meat and milk of cocoanuts, but ate and drank and blessed God. Just so the Negro, cast upon the barren shore of American slavery, has been able to feed upon the toil, the tears and contempt, wondering what and where for his family.

Thirdly—He must be able to retain unchanged those basic qualities and traits which constitute his individuality and explain his work in the Divine economy. This is the most important of the three powers. The other two are necessary to life; this is necessary to usefulness in life. The Negro feels that he has shown himself a useful citizen. The Negro feels that for this reason he should be treated as a citizen.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON,

Field Secretary,

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

EDITORIAL

Opinion Interprise
Jan 21/1918
THE NEGROES' ATTITUDE.

Considerable is published by both the colored and white races as well as is said by the race leader and white friend of the colored people in the matter of the fact that all local government executors should be more deeply interested in the direction of commanding that whatever the crime by any "thug" of the colored people the law should be given its course; but in view of the numerous incidents of injustices and burnings of helpless colored persons, with conflicting evidences, the mass show there is a terrible uneasiness and powerful on-sweep of an inward emotion conducive to the fact that the colored man does not know what nor where for his family. There is an element of the colored people who knows that if democracy means anything, it is justice to all; and that it is by no means Christ-like to, perhaps, because of crime, in any form, show barbarism, especially in a land where the highest type of civilization is shown and the Bible is taken as the moral rectitude. Therefore there is a question in the mind of the colored man that almost causes him to feel that there is not any need of intensity of aspiration where it is possible for him in questions of democracy if he is not to share as a benefactor of his labors.

The colored man knows three things—First—He must have the power to adapt himself. The ability to do this is the ability to live. One man enters

LESSONS FROM THE LIFE OF SENATOR TILLMAN.

We are very sure that we are neither malicious nor vindictive. We are very sure that we are always disposed, however far we may fall short of it, to "render unto the human Caesars the things that are theirs," as they strut their little part upon the small stage of human affairs, because, after all is said, the part we play and the world we play in, are very small and withal provokingly transitory. The greatest names in history are known to but a small part of the inhabitants of the earth, the most generally known being those of Jesus of the Christians and Mahomet of the Moslems, and these are only known, for the most part, by reputation. As to the life and teachings of either of them the larger number of their followers never know much, if anything, and the veneration they profess for them is more of lip service than of the works that make for the power and glory of either of them. How little the majority of Christians know of the life and teachings of Jesus, for example, how little they know of the Bible, which is supposed to be their Spiritual light and leading, is scandalous. And, strange to say, a person known to insist upon searching the Scriptures and of knowing the story of the lives of those who wrote them and passed them on to us is generally regarded by professing Christians as being weak minded, with a strong leaning to idiocy, the lowest form of mental disorganization. Why is this so?

Senator Benjamin Ryan Tillman of South Carolina is dead. He died at a ripe old age, surrounded by members of his family. He had lived a stormy life, full of dramatic incidents, with some of tragedy. He entered politics in 1890, when he became Governor of South Carolina. He was a rough and tumble sort of man, and trampled on the old Hampton aristocracy of South Carolina, coming from the common people, as Thomas Jefferson of Virginia did, and in the highest and the lowest parts he played in State and National politics he always showed that he was a common man, very common, so common as often to be brutal and merciless in his methods. For some twenty years after he entered politics, and especially after he entered the Fedral Senate, abuse and beratement of his Afro-American fellow-citizens, in the Senate and upon the lecture platform, became a mania with him, in so far that such influence as he had made by better works became underrated by the thoughtful people of the country. But there was to be a miraculous end of his abuse and beratement of his Afro-American fellow-citizens. He sud-

denly became paralyzed in his speech and other organs, and for a long time death stood watch over him.

When death withdrew for a season from the bedside of the stricken man he gradually grew more sober-minded and reflective in his attitude towards his Afro-American fellow-citizens and other matters upon which he had been insanely radical. He was made to see by another light than he had seen and to speak with decency and order. He even went so far as to moderate his estimate, somewhat, of his Afro-American fellow-citizens. It may safely be said of Senator Tillman that he stirred up more strife as between the races in the Southern States than any other man of his times; but in spite of his teachings and hectorings, and those of others of his way of thinking, it is gratifying to know that the public sentiment of the Southern States, instead of learning of him and following him in this matter, gradually grew away from him and toward a better feeling between the races. The lesson from his reactionary life teaches the same old story, that the good teachings and the bad teachings may be sown and grown up together but that, in the finality, the good teachings will choke the bad teachings and destroy by death the bad teacher.

We rejoice in the death of no man, but we are free to say that the South never needed politicians of Senator Tillman's character, and that it would be better off to-day if he had not entered public life, but had stuck to his farm and his law books. What we say of him we say of all the troublesome politicians who have vexed the spirit of the South and the Nation from General John B. Gordon of Georgia, who is reputed to have created the Ku Klux Klan, to Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, called "Pitchfork Tillman." We hope his unquiet spirit may rest in peace, if it can.

Let us all hope, for the good of the Nation and of the people

of South Carolina, all of the people, that Hon. Christie Benet, the young successor to Senator Tillman, may be a wiser, safer and more honorable representative of the whole people of South Carolina than Senator Tillman had it in his fearful

horoscope to be.

A writer in *The Christian Advocate* describes some of the problems that have resulted from the extensive emigration to negroes from the South to the North; problems that have even made themselves felt in the negro Methodist churches. "The exact number of colored people who migrated northward," says the writer, "will not be known till the publication of the next census. Conservative estimates place it at 750,000, while other approximations are as high as 1,000,000. Whole districts in Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama and South Carolina have been depopulated. Cotton is unpicked and other crops go unharvested. The Southern planter offered treble the usual wages but his inducements brought no answer. The negro shook the dust of the South from his feet and turned his face toward the promised land above the Mason-Dixon line, his guide being the pillars of smoke from the great industrial plants."

Different explanations of the cause of this migration have been given, but "Whatever the reason for their flight, the fact remains that fully 750,000 negroes have left the cane and cotton fields for the North. They have found school facilities and public libraries and as much money for a day's work as they formerly received in a week. But they have also found bad air, poor sanitation, dirt and incredibly high rents.

"The North was not prepared for the invasion, and the newcomers were unable to find homes. Many of them wandered around the depots until the police drove them away, and then tumbled into anything that had at least three walls and a roof. In Detroit 15,000 negroes are living in a district which was formerly inadequate for 3,000. Half of the houses have no baths. The rent is five dollars a room, seventy-five cents more a room than white people pay for the same kind of dwellings. The coming of the negro was a harvest day for the real estate man. Rents increased anywhere from 50 to 350 per cent. The pay envelope that looked so big at the factory becomes thin and anemic after the rent is collected.

"Detroit is not the only city where such conditions exist. In Newark, N. J., negroes are paying \$35 a month for ramshackle germ-breeding quarters that Lithuanians formerly rented for \$13. Despite the watchfulness of the Board of Health, the negro death rate rose to 18 per thousand, an extremely high rate for an American city."

The social and religious difficulties are among the greatest, however, that have to be solved: "It is after working hours that the immigrant's real difficulty begins. Plantation negroes are noisy. They are used to shouting at each other across the fields, to saluting their friends in a familiar and by no means subdued way. The colored people of the city are not eager to welcome newcomers whose manners bear the trademark of the plantation. Even many of the church members are in no special rush to shake hands with the immigrants when they visit the services. . . . Sunday no longer means go-to-church day for the immigrant colored man. There are no churches for him to go to. At one negro church in New York, those who attend in the morning are told not to come back in the evening, so that more people can be accommodated. Christians pray and work for lasting peace, not for mere victory. Activity in Christ is born of love, not of constraint. When the grand consummation of all have come, each one shall be a part of a magnificent system; doing all that is good with interest, devotedly. The outward worship and work is thus real proof of the inward appreciation of our Saviour; who both creates and consummates. He who is our true King of kings is our Prince of Peace, our life. Our future and our safety are all in Him.

COLUMBUS DISPATCH A COLORED WOMAN'S VIEW.

To the Editor of the Dispatch.
Sir: Many thoughts came to my mind Tuesday evening when I read an article on negro progress, wherein the negro was advised to turn over to the law the criminals of their race, which act would show patriotism and progress. It seems to me that is an excellent idea for all races to follow. Clear the world of criminals, grafters and robbers. Prudence forbids me saying much which I could on the subject. All know that each race has a good and bad element. Our race is not perfect, but has done wonderfully well, considering prejudice, discrimination and limitations. We have worthy men and women who devote their time to uplift progress, and the unfolding of the dormant minds of our race that we may be a united people of morals, owning and operating business houses, which would enable our boys and girls finding employment.

What a grand thing it would be for our churches to awaken to their duty of protection by operating business houses, giving employment to the young people. Many of our girls and boys aspiring to high and noble things are discouraged when confronted with the words, "You are colored, so not wanted."

Ruth Bethel

Race Problem - 1918
United States

FOURTEEN SPECIFIC POINTS A BASIS FOR DEMOCRACY AT HOME

WHAT DOES THE NEGRO WANT OR EXPECT?

11-14-18
A QUESTION ASKED
BY A WHITE MAN—
ANSWERED BY
JOHN R. HAWKINS

The General War-Time Commission of the Federal Council of Churches of America, has created a Committee on "The Welfare of Negro Troops". At the meeting of this committee in New York on Monday Nov. 5, 1918, very interesting reports were made by those who have been delegated to make a survey of the conditions existing in and around the Camps where Negro Troops are quartered: and plans were discussed for extending the survey even to France.

Several important questions pertaining to the work of the Negro troops and their treatment, were frankly discussed; and a Sub-Committee was appointed to report the work of this committee to the proper authorities of the War Department.

One of the most important features of the meeting was presented in form of a general statement, sent to the Committee by a representative of one of the important agencies in connection with the war activities. This representative thought it well to call the attention of the Committee to certain matters bearing on the relationship between the white and colored races in certain sections; and to get some expression as to what is best to be done in the interest of all concerned. The author of the statement, a white man, whose name was withheld—set out:

FIRST: That there was a manifest feeling of unrest among both white and colored people in his district—a thickly populated section of one of the Southern States.

SECOND: That there seemed to be a growing feeling of mistrust toward the white people, on the part of the colored people.

THIRD: That the white people were keenly interested to know as to what the colored people were thinking about; and somewhat disturbed over the fact, that there was a seeming disposition on the part of the colored people to keep the whites "in the dark" as to their thoughts.

FOURTH: That Negro preachers and speakers were encouraging their people to expect a new adjustment of things under the application of the principles of DEMOCRACY.

It was generally admitted that this particular statement was a fair summary of the situation or conditions existing very generally throughout the South; and the matter assumed definite shape in the form of the question at the head of this article: **WHAT DOES THE NEGRO WANT OR EXPECT?**

THE ANSWER.

I cannot, and do not claim the authority to speak for the twelve millions, or more, Negroes in America; but as one of them, I beg to submit the following in answer to the above question.

For the sake of convenience and directness let us follow the style of President Wilson and reduce our reasoning to what may be termed

FOURTEEN (14) SPECIFIC ARTICLES AS A BASIS OF DEMOCRACY AT HOME

I. Universal Suffrage.

The Negro wants the right to vote and the privilege of exercising that right in casting his ballot, because he knows this to be one of the fundamental rights of the citizens of a Republic; and that any set of people

who are denied the privilege of exercising this right will be rendered powerless in helping to shape civic affairs in the community, State or Country of which they are a part.

Let the South be fair and apply the standard of elective franchise to white and colored alike, and the first step will be taken towards removing the Negro's feeling of mistrust.

II. Better Educational Facilities In The South For Negroes.

The Negro wants this because he recognizes education as the lever by which a people are lifted up. He is capable of receiving it, is anxious for it, and needs it to help make him a better citizen. He meets every requirement in the way of taxation for the establishment and maintenance of all classes of institutions. To give to white youths the privileges and advantages of these institutions and deny them to colored youths, naturally makes the Negro dissatisfied.

When the South provides the same class of technical, High School, college university, and too, military training out of State Funds for colored youths, as is done for the whites, then another barrier to our progress and a mutual feeling of helpfulness will be removed.

III. The Abolishment of the So-Called "Jim Crow" Car System.

Nothing has served to estrange the races in the South and create feeling of bitterness so much as the iniquitous "Jim Crow Cars."

Even though the statutes of the Southern States call for "separate but equal accommodations for white and colored passengers," there is not a road in the South that lives up to the law. No difference whatever is made in the price of tickets; but all kinds of unjust differences are made as to accommodations and treatment. Negro passengers are often subjected to the most degrading and humiliating treatment imaginable.

The privilege of sleeping cars and

dining cars are thrown open to white passengers, but persistently denied to colored passengers. Under the system of first and second class fares, a better distinction could be made and less friction and bad feeling engendered.

IV. Discontinuance Of Unjust Discriminatory Regulations and Segregation In The Various Departments Of The Government.

In a Republic like ours, a premium should be placed on efficiency and faithfulness to duty. This is not the case with us; as this rule or principle is ignored when it comes to colored persons serving in the various governmental departments. They are subjected to humiliating conditions and discriminations; denied the benefits of promotion in line of efficient service. - They have been refused assignment to work even after passing the required civil service examination, certified to and sent on for appointment with the highest rating on the eligible list.

In many cases, colored persons have been notified of appointment and, on written or telegraphic orders, come to Washington and reported for duty at a given salary named; and on appearing at the said department or bureau, have been turned away with the flimsy excuse that "some mistake has been made somewhere." The Negroes feel warranted in construing such acts as a breach of trust; the abrogation of a contract: or at least a violation of the code of ethics and a gentleman's agreement. And the result is an impairment of faith in the sense of honor and fairness on the part of the offenders.

V. The Same Military Training For Colored Youths As For White.

While we do not believe in anything like Prussian Militarism, we do believe in preparedness against invasion and oppression from hostile enemies. This makes it necessary to maintain our Army and Navy. This means military training of a certain and well regulated standard provided for and given in government institutions, or under the direction of the government. This should be applied to white and colored youths alike. This is not the case now; as colored youths are denied admittance to our War and Naval Colleges. A most singular method of reasoning, Deny one the opportunity of a special training to fit him for certain duties and then charge him with being incapable of performance. But pre-

judice never stops to reason.

VI. The Removal Of An Imaginary Dead Line In The Recognition Of Fitness For Promotion In Military And Naval Service.

It is not fair to the spirit of valor and patriotism to refuse or withhold promotions to higher ranks from colored soldiers who have shown their valor on battle field, stood every test and proven their ability to train, lead and command others, by a strict adherence to the rule of obedience and faithfulness to duty.

VII. Removal of Peonage In The South.

In certain sections of the South, colored people are subjected to labor conditions very little removed from slavery. Advantage is taken of them and hardships are imposed to the point of suffering. They are in many cases powerless to prevent such or to defend themselves against it; and they feel that their only deliverance is to leave the South. This is against the natural tendency and wishes of many who love their native heath and the memories of loved ones.

VIII. An Economic Wage Scale To Be Applied To White And Colored Alike.

The Negro's record as a good workman is generally conceded. He is willing and anxious to engage in all kinds of labor, both skilled and unskilled. But there is too much difference made in the scale of wages applied to colored persons as compared with the wages paid to white persons performing the same class of work. The cost of living is just as high for one as for the other and a proper recognition of this fact and an economic wage scale that has no color line will go a long way in helping to dignify labor.

IX. Better Housing Conditions For Colored Employees In Industrial Plants.

One of the things that contributes to the spirit of restlessness and dissatisfaction among Negroes is, the utter disregard of the necessity of encouraging better home life for the laboring classes. This is particularly true of those who live in what is known as "quarters" on large plantations. The day has passed for the shack or one room shanty. The people want homes provided with some degree of comfort, convenience and too, beauty. They are being taught the virtue of these things; to have aspirations for them and the withholding of them simply makes

them feel that there is no use-nothe fruits thereof. This he regards as hope.

X. Better Sanitary Conditions In Certain Sections Of Our Cities And Towns.

It is common complaint that in too many cases, the municipal authorities pay very little attention to having proper sanitary facilities in sections where the majority of residents are colored people; thus fostering troubles and public nuisances, which could be averted if more reasonable consideration were shown for the interests of all the people.

XI. Reforms In The Penal Institutions Of The South.

We do not condone crime nor do we ask that it be winked at or excused, but we do expect a fair and impartial administration of the law.

In too many cases young colored boys and too, young girls, whose first offense is some petty misdemeanor are sent to prison for long terms and placed with hardened criminals under such conditions as make it hard for them to reform. While for like offenses, white youths are placed in some well regulated reformatory and given a chance to outlive the mistake and become useful citizens. In matters of this kind white and colored should be treated alike both from a humane standpoint and as a matter of justice.

XII. A Fair And Impartial Trial By Jury Instead Of Lynching.

No people are safe in a community where mob-violence is tolerated. Violators of law should be punished, but by due process of law. The lynching spirit has become so strong in some sections that it borders on a disregard for all law, order and decency. Innocent people are often the victims of the mob; and the peace and well-being of the entire community is seriously affected thereby.

XIII. Recognition Of The Negro's Right And Fitness To Sit On Juries.

The Jury system is one of the fundamental principles of government and the privilege to exercise this right should be extended to capable citizens without regard to race relationship.

XIV. Fair Play.

Just as the Negro has been among the first to give his best, his all on the altar of his country in every struggle for the defence of its flag, so he wants and expects equal opportunity to serve in the development of his country and the full enjoyment of

among whom they dwell. One can easily see how galling it is to these educated men and women to be invariably treated not as individuals, but simply as "darkies" and "niggers," and to be rated with the thousands of uneducated servants and laborers because they happen to be black.

But this is the state of affairs, and this is the attitude of the average Southerner. The most highly educated and refined Negro in the South if she be a woman must never be called "Mrs." We asked our friends what they did in the case of a colored woman, say the head of a great school, perhaps with degrees of B. A., M. A. (several colored women have been through our finest Northern colleges, as well as through the excellent colleges for colored girls in the South), who might be asked to address a community gathering where a white woman and she were to speak. He was puzzled for an answer, but finally replied by saying: The presiding officer would probably give her full name; would say 'Eugenia F. Brown will now speak.' He would not say 'Mrs. Brown.' When we told our friend that the presiding officer at the Sociological Congress had introduced Mrs. Booker T. Washington by that name, he said: "It is unprecedented. I suppose it will have to come, but it will come hard."

Another friend revealed the whole attitude when, talking on this question, he said: "Nobody in the South would think of taking off his hat to a colored woman any more than you would think of taking off your hat to your cook." But, we replied, "we would take off our hat to our cook in the North. We would do it instinctively to any woman we knew, whether our cook or what ever her color. We would take off our hat to Mrs. Booker T. Washington as instinctively as we would to Miss Jane Addams." We said also that we did not believe there was a man among the cultured men of the North who would not take off his hat to any woman he knew, regardless of any question but her being a woman. Our Southern friend could hardly believe us. "They are to us Southerners the servant race and we cannot think of anybody among them otherwise." There

ly applauded by his classmates. The Northerner thinks of men according to their character and attainments, rather than associating them with a race. There was a time when the Northerner classed all Jews together. He now accords to his Jewish neighbor the recognition that his character and attainments deserve, and such a man as Jacob Schiff, for instance, is as greatly beloved by Christians as by Jews, because of his gentle soul and his devoted service to mankind. The same change has taken place in regard to the Negro. The Negro of character, culture and devotion to service receives recognition as a man. We have met such Negroes at the most exclusive social functions. The Republican Club of New York once had a Negro as its guest of honor at the annual Lincoln dinner, and his address on Lincoln was memorable among many remarkable orations given at these dinners. The Negro is allowed his share in the government as he manifests fitness for it. When he excels in some art, as was the case with Mr. Dunbar, Mr. Coleridge-Taylor and Mr. Tanner, he was encouraged on every side and invited to gatherings of artists, poets and musicians. We are not saying that racial prejudice does not exist in the North, but we think that the tendency among the best white people is to think of the Negro as a man rather than a member of a race. This is what we have all got to come to. There is no other way in a democracy. We claim to have entered the great war to give democracy to all peoples: we have got to accept it for ourselves. We were interested in noting while we were in the South that some Southern people were thinking about this very thing. Thousands of Negroes have volunteered, many thousands more are on their way. What are we going to do with these men when they come back? Does anyone think they are going to be content to be deprived of political, educational and social recognition? The encouraging thing is that the best people of both North and South are thinking of these things.—Editorial by Dr. Frederick Lynch in The Christian Work. New York

Race Problem - 1918

United States SHALL AMERICA BE MADE SAFE FOR BLACK MEN?

The Christian Index.
BY CHANNING H. TOBIAS.
March 28, 1918.

A Negro editor and author who has had the distinction of serving his country at a foreign post was sitting at his desk, recently, looking over the morning news, when his attention was arrested by headlines telling of unbelievable German atrocities in Belgium. It was the story of an Irish-Australian veteran of the Gallipoli and Belgian campaigns, told at a dinner given by the Society of Illustrators in New York. Among other things he said:

In Belgium I saw a Mother Superior crucified to the door of her convent, and within, the bodies of noble women who had consecrated their lives to the teaching of the young and ministering to the poor, were cut to pieces and mutilated. I saw an aged blacksmith, his folded hands pinned to his anvil, a note on his breast proclaiming in German: "He will shoe no more of the horses of our enemies."

The editor, shocked at the revolting details of this narrative, determined to write an editorial on it. He clipped the story and in filing it came across two other clippings on the hearings of the East St. Louis massacre before the Committee on Rules in the House of Representatives at Washington on Aug 3rd. The first clipping was a statement by Congressman Dyer referring to the testimony of Lieut. Arbuckle of the U. S. Army Reserve Corps. Mr. Dyer said:

He saw a part of the killing, and saw them burning the railway cars in yards which were waiting for transport, filled with interstate commerce. He saw members of the militia of Illinois shoot Negroes. He saw policemen of the city of East St. Louis shoot Negroes. He saw the mob go to the homes of these Negroes and nail boards up over the doors and windows and

then set them afire. He saw the most dastardly and most criminal outrages ever perpetrated in this country, and this was undisputed. And I have talked with others, and my opinion is that over 500 people were killed on this occasion.

The second clipping was from Congressman Rodenberg, who said:

In one case, for instance, a ten-year-old boy whose mother had been shot down was running around sobbing, looking for his mother, when some members of the mob shot the boy, and before his life had passed they picked him up and threw him into the flames. A colored woman with a two-year-old baby in her arms was trying to protect the child and they shot her and also shot the child, and threw them into the flames.

When the editor finished reading he sat dazed and when he finally lifted his pen it was to write an editorial with the mote and beam passage from the Sermon on the Mount as a text. It was not that he had not known the facts before: he was shocked at the horror of it all as seen through the perspective of the Belgian parallel.

A race composing one-tenth of the population of the United States stands bewildered before such crimes committed against it, and before the still worse fact of a public conscience that views such crimes with nothing more than passive disapproval. If this race were enemies of the government they could in some measure understand such treatment; on the contrary, there is no more loyal group within the nation than its black citizens. In proof of this we cite one instance. Recently a Negro was lynched in Dyersburg, Tenn., according to the following specifications:

An iron stake was driven into the ground and Scott tied to it. He was stripped of his clothing and a bonfire built around his body and burned until even the bones were consumed. Every housetop in the vicinity of the pyre was covered with spectators. The

crowd was orderly and carried out the execution of its plans without a hitch.

At that same time, not many miles away, at Memphis, a company of Negro soldiers was guarding the railroad bridges leading to the city, while at Dyersburg the lynchers felt safe in leaving their children in the hands of Negro nurses, and are still eating without fear of harm food cooked by black hands.

Politicians may juggle the facts or dismiss the whole matter with a wave of the hand because they are not bound to face it, but on the peril of their own souls, Christians **must** face this question and declare themselves. This involves facing the whole truth and courageously acting upon it.

Nothing is to be gained by following the unscientific and self-deceptive method of trying to make realities appear unreal. Nothing is to be gained by refusing to hear any but those Negro leaders who wilfully misrepresent conditions in order to gain popularity, and who, parading as optimists, speak with their lips what their souls deny. Nothing is to be gained by branding as pessimists those leaders who insist on telling the whole truth. The fact that scores of black men are unlawfully done to death each year; that millions of dollars are annually taken from Negroes by railroads and other great corporations that charge first class rates for third class service; that color is an advertised bar to opportunity in the face of a national Constitution which declares that no man shall be discriminated against on account of race, creed or previous condition—all these facts and many others must be squarely faced.

There must be courageous action.
**EDITORS' CONFERENCE
YIELDS BIG RESULTS**
Daily Herald
**President's Strong Stand
Against Lynching**

—7-30-18
Opportunity for Colored Nurses in
Army and Probable Early Recall
of Col. Young to Active Duty

Follow Urgent Appeal of Race's Spokesmen for Justice.

Washington, D. C., July 29.—Already there are numerous evidences that the recent conference of Colored Editors and leaders held in this city in June, which was called by Emmett J. Scott, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, at the suggestion of the War Department and the Committee on Public Information, to consider the relations of the 12,000,000 Negroes in this country with the general government itself, and to discuss ways and means how each might co-operate most effectively in the work of winning the present worldwide war, is bearing fruit. Three results of the most significant character have been worked out within the past fortnight that fully justify the holding of the conference and other issues not less far-reaching are well on their way toward a satisfactory conclusion.

President Wilson's Clean-Cut Pronouncement Against Lynching.

The first in importance and human interest of the helpful results that may be said to have grown directly out of the recent conference of editors, and the co-operation of Negro leaders and friends of the Negro people, is the frank, positive and unequivocal declaration of the President of the United States against the mob spirit, which has been sent to the four corners of the earth by cable and through the newspapers of this country. President Wilson's firm stand for law and order ranks with the finest of the great state papers that have emanated from the White House, and it has electrified the entire country as it has seldom been thrilled before.

IT will be remembered by those familiar with the proceedings of the conference at the New Interior Building that the full force of the leaders who spoke was marshaled in opposition to the lynchings, burnings and inhuman mob violence practiced

mainly against colored people in various sections of the country, and that this lack of respect for the common rights of citizens was given as the most potent cause for unrest among Negroes. This was the underlying reason for bringing the conference together from far distant points. The proceedings of the Conference reached the President through the Committee on Public Information of which Mr. George Creel is Chairman.

The President's message is a whole some rebuke to ruthless violators of the law, who almost invariably think they will be immune from punishment by the courts or by outraged public opinion.

The colored people are jubilant over the timely and straightforward pronouncement of the President of the United States and that such an utterance from the highest authority in the land will cause a wave of patriotic enthusiasm among them and inspire a keener impulse to assist in the many constructive war activities throughout the Republic cannot be doubted.

Colored Women Rejoice In Opportunity To Be War Nurses.

The second outstanding achievement growing out of the conference is the opening made for the employment of the large number of colored trained nurses who have patriotically registered their names with the American Red Cross Society for work among the colored troops on the field and in the base hospital. The conference strongly urged that these skilled nurses be used at the earliest possible opportunity.

According to an announcement made through the office of the Special Assistant to the Secretary of War last week, plans have been laid by the Surgeon-General of the Army to have colored nurses assigned to six of the base hospitals in this country where approximately 38,000 colored troops are stationed; namely: Camps Funston Dodge, Grant, Taylor, Sherman and Dix, and with a practical certainty that these skilled agents of

mercy will have further opportunity for service among the colored soldiers overseas. With the constant increment of colored men in the army the number of women to be utilized must be correspondingly enlarged from time to time with a constant umph has heartened beyond measurely expanding area of usefulness and spiritual influence. This signal tri- the women of our land, who are called upon in time of war to make the heaviest sacrifices—and yet are the most willing to sacrifice and to serve when called upon to do so. This is the second big achievement that may be justly credited to the recent conference and it will prove to be a vital factor in alleviating the unrest that has been breaking down the morale of Negro Americans.

Colonel Young May Soon Be Called To Active Duty.

The early recall to active duty of Colonel Charles Young, the idol of the young colored men of red blood and sturdy public spirit, also urged by the conference, is before the War Department. It has become known that the Secretary of War from the very beginning has sympathetically considered the whole matter of utilizing the valuable military experience and services of Colonel Young, who, until his retirement some months ago, was actively identified with the Regular Army.

The two concrete results here referred to, and the third one now "on the lap of the gods," would seem amply to justify the recent conference of Colored Leaders and Editors, who sacrificed time and business interests to crystallize requests into tangible realities, and demonstrate the value of intensive cooperation with the National Government.

THE RACE QUESTION.

The race question is still a leading topic with our exchanges. There is some features of this subject that is to be regretted when looked at in their true light. It seems that the Negro especially has forgotten that

there is a God, and fails utterly to realize that the Negro himself is not only adding fuel to the flames continually, but in other ways are doing more to perpetuate race distinction than any other people. Common reason will show that all separateness is the direct fruit of departure from God, and that in God the human family is one, and therefore the only remedy for the evils of which we complain is a full and complete return unto the God from whom we strayed, and this can never be done in the way that it is attempted.

We have more than once been approached relative to some project for the advancement of the Negro, and have even been taken to task as not being a race man because our paper has not joined the howl against the white man.

We do not believe that there is half as much race prejudice on the part of the white man against the Negro as appears on the surface. The past raising and condition of each has very much to do with it. We have been in public life for thirty-five years and have found the following to be a fact. The meanest treatment that we ever received at the hands of our fellowmen was received from Negroes, and in many—yes, in most instances, from Negroes who belonged to the church and pretended to be born of God, and very often from those for whom we had done the most. The broadest, unselfish kindness that we ever received was from white men. Our observation has been that a great many Negroes will go their full length to injure another Negro. With these facts before us as they are, if there was no other reason, we would take no part in the course that is being pursued in the interest of advancing the Negro as a race, but there are other and greater reasons. To talk about advancing the interest of one class of people without advancing the interest of all is the folly that was tried by the American people with reference to the Negro, and they found that it could not be done. That God was the Father of all men and that there was a common interest of equal importance to all. There are some things that may do if

we are still in the Adamic Nature, but if we have passed out of that and by faith entered the kingdom of God through Jesus Christ the whole question of race falls to the ground. We denounce the white man for his Southern church, established on slavery, and then ourselves set up one established on race, and call it African. We denounce the white man for perpetuating the customs of his flesh father, and then sing and teach our children to sing "My Father's Church," and to belong to this or that church because our father belonged to it, and then we disregard the teaching of Jesus Christ and go around organizing societies for the advancement of the Negro, and put in much time and energy hunting up wrongs of every kind and giving them the widest possible publicity with much denunciation, and still claim that we are followers of Jesus Christ. We would have little or perhaps nothing to say about all this if it were not that these meetings are mostly held in the churches, and our church people are taking the leading part, and yet there is not one sentence in the teaching of Jesus Christ or the Apostles to back up this race or Negro advancement business that has the attention of so many well meaning and professed Christian Negroes.

One of the chief objections that the Jews had to Jesus Christ was his refusal to become a party to the race question, but he not only refused, but forbid his followers from doing so, even to the point of disrecognizing their flesh fathers. He said, "Call no man your father upon earth, for one is your father which is in heaven."

Some of these Negroes who are going to do so much for the advancement of the race, never did a kind act or spoke a kind word to an unfortunate, needy or helpless Negro in their lives. Let us return unto God with our whole hearts and follow the teaching of Jesus Christ and the leading of the Holy Spirit and we will be a blessing to the world and the race question will settle itself.

War Going on to Victory

There is no such apprehension on the part of the administration of a cataclysm which will bring down all civilized institutions, and instead the general staff has given every assurance that the war is proceeding to a reasonably early and complete victory which will involve the acceptance by the central powers of the only possible terms of peace—namely, those laid down by President Wilson.

"These terms, referred to in the reply dictated Monday to the Austrian note, were clearly set out in President Wilson's fourth of July speech at Mount Vernon, as follows:

WILSON'S TERMS.

"1.—The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can apparently, secretly and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotence.

"2.—The settlement of any question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

"3.—The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracy hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

TO PREVENT SUCH WARS IN FUTURE.

"4.—The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

President Wilson's Absence Causes Little Change in Washington Life; U. S. Supreme Court Not Disturbed by War



Mr. Wilson Never Uses Up \$25,000 Allowed Him for Travel.

Negroes at Capital Sporting More Money and Better

Clothes—Change in the U. S. Senate.

BROOKLYN N. Y. EAGLE
AUGUST 25, 1918

Eagle Bureau

901 Colorado Building.

By C. C. BRAINERD.

Washington, August 24—Time was in Washington when the absence of the President created a visible change in the city. The activities of the capital centered about him. When he went away it was the signal for everybody else to go away, if they could manage it; for they knew that the town would be dull until his return.

Now it is different. When President Wilson goes away there is no reaction among those who remain in Washington. The town is too big and too busy. There is too much to be done. The absence of the President creates no disturbance in social activities, any more than it does in the official affairs of the Government, for there are no social activities of any account. There have been none since the war began. The White House is always the social leader, but the White House has adjourned society for the period of the war. There are no receptions and entertainments there. The grounds are closed to visitors. Tourists no longer have the run of them and automobiles no longer swing at will through the big gates, bearing guests on social errands.

The society columns continue in the Washington newspapers, and, according to custom, they always lead off with a paragraph about the President and his wife. But it is mighty hard work to get a society paragraph about the President nowadays. Even before the war Mr. Wilson was not a prolific producer of society news. When he gets into society nowadays it is usually in a paragraph announcing that he went to the theater the night before or played golf in the morning. Neither of these things, perhaps, is strictly society, but that is about the best the President can do in the way of con-

tributing his bit.

When the White House stopped social activities at the beginning of the war it set a mark for society in general. Practically everything stopped. There are no large entertainments. There is very little night life in the social set. Weddings come and go and there is an effort to give them a society color; but it is a pale, neutral tint as a rule, and it all looks very meek in comparison with the affairs of the old days. The war has knocked all the pretentiousness out of things and has brought about a severe simplicity. If Washington society had not become so wholly dependent upon the White House for its leadership and its cue, the war might not have made so much difference. But when the White House put up the blinds, there was nothing for society to do but follow suit.

President Wilson a Poor Traveler.

One day last week Washington woke up to the fact that the President was in Massachusetts, visiting Colonel House, and this week, while it was speculating as to how long he might remain away, it picked up the papers to discover that he was already back in the White House. In war time there is no advance announcement of the movements of the President. Those who are in immediate official relation to him know when he is going away, and the newspapermen know it; but it is kept a matter of secrecy until Mr. Wilson has arrived at some other place. This is a precaution which has to do with the personal safety of the President and it is carefully observed.

Mr. Wilson has traveled but little since he became President. His mile-

age is far under the mark of numerous predecessors. Apart from a disinclination to go touring about the country, the President has had too many things to do. Congress has been in session almost continuously ever since he took office in 1913, and a large part of that time has been devoted to the debate and passage of Administration measures, which made it not only advisable but necessary that Mr. Wilson should be at the capital. Even when he has had opportunities to take vacations Mr. Wilson has done little traveling. He has never been to the Pacific Coast since he has been President, although he has often expressed a desire to go there.

In addition to the President's salary, Congress provides an annual sum of \$25,000 for traveling expenses. That practice began when Mr. Taft became President. Mr. Taft was fond of travel, and at the end of each year there was little or nothing left of the \$25,000 appropriation. President Wilson has never used that amount of money for traveling in a single year, nor anything like it. Annually, he turns back a big balance. He likes to drive out into Maryland or Virginia by automobile, and he likes to go down the Potomac on the Mayflower; but railroad travel makes no appeal to him except as a means of getting to some place where it is necessary for him to be. He has done even less traveling than usual since the war began, although there are many occasions on which he could absent himself from Washington without interrupting the public business. And when he does travel it is in the most quiet and informal way.

The Supreme Court and the War.

Although all other branches of the Government have felt the effect of the war, and most of them in marked degree, the United States Supreme Court is still undisturbed in its dignified aloofness. This is undoubtedly as it should be, and yet it is somewhat curious to find the Nation's highest court going along in the old placid way when the remainder of the capital is astir with the business of whipping Germany.

The Supreme Court is now in its usual summer recess. It will not sit again until October. The austere courtroom in the Capitol is undergoing the customary renovation. Visitors who peep in see the desks and chairs in their summer covers, and everywhere there is an air of rest and comfort. The war does not hurry the Supreme Court. It does not even interfere with its leisurely routine. Those who complain that the whole Government is being jarred out of its time-honored channels by the war ought to glance at the Supreme Court, which stands as a shining exception.

The business of making war has little or nothing to do with the court,

and only once has it touched it at an important point. The court was called upon to decide the constitutionality of the selective draft and it upheld the law. Since that time the war has left the court alone and will probably continue to do so. The court still stands as one of the ancient institutions of the Government, unchanged by the ravages of a world war, going its way as if the world was at peace and interpreting the acts of Congress in accordance with the Constitution of the forefathers, just as it has always done.

The Negro in Washington.

Ever since this city was founded the negro has been an important part of its life. When the United States entered the war, and Washington had a population of about 350,000, the negro numbered about one-fourth of the total. For many years he has performed most of the manual labor and domestic service of the capital. He has generally been well treated and paid according to his market value. There is no well-defined negro colony in Washington; the negroes live in groups all over the city. They have equal rights in the street cars with white people, for there has never been any Jim Crow legislation in Washington. They have a representative on the bench of police magistrates and many representatives in Government departments. They serve on juries with white men.

Generally speaking, the negro has always been well liked and his usefulness recognized. But the war has unfortunately brought about a less friendly feeling between the negroes and the white people of the capital. The negro today is making unprecedented wages. If he loses one job he can readily obtain another. New war-time residents pay fancy prices for domestic service, while the Government employs thousands of negro men and women in the new buildings.

The Washington negro of today is far more independent than he was before the war. He has more money and better clothes. As a general rule, he shows far less deference to those who employ him. He believes that he is at last coming into "his rights," while the white population believe that he is trying to step too far out of his place. This, of course, does not make for good feeling. It is a real situation, because of the size of the negro population. It is not only fraught with immediate unpleasantness, but it is fruitful of bitterness when the war is over, when wages will probably begin to go down and jobs will not be so numerous. One of the unfortunate features of the business is that few of the Washington negroes seem to be saving their war profits. Most of them will see the end of the war as poor as when they began it, with nothing but a stock of good clothes and a habit of spending more money than they will be able to earn when the war is over.

The Changes in

the Senate.

Although the Senate underwent many rapid changes in recent years before the war, the end of changes is not yet. The war has witnessed many. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts will become the Republican leader, following the death of Dr. Gallinger of New Hampshire. Senator Lodge is one of the veterans and one of the nationally conspicuous figures. With all his scholarly attainments and his wide knowledge of international affairs, Senator Lodge is sufficiently a partisan to act as a party leader. But he will have a difficult minority to lead, for it is composed of many new men who are not in sympathy with Republicanism as Mr. Lodge understands it.

It is certain that no important political leadership will be established in the Senate while the war lasts on either side. The older men are gradually going and the new men have neither time nor opportunity to establish themselves. Stone of Missouri is gone, taking with him many traditions and influences that will never be restored. Tillman of South Carolina is dead. Gallinger of New Hampshire is the latest of the old figures to disappear. La Follette of Wisconsin has shrunk to a point where he no longer counts in the affairs of the Upper House. Ollie James of Kentucky, one of the staunch Administration supporters, has been ill for months in a hospital in Baltimore.

The Senate, of course, goes on with its work and, with more or less efficiency, does what is required of it. But its leadership is entirely from without. It comes from the President. There have been too many changes within the Senate to give opportunity for the development of real leaders, and on either side of the Senate today the leader of the future is yet to make himself known.

A WORD WITH OUR WHITE

PEOPLE

1918
Raleigh

We are a Negro Southern. We are a North Carolinian. We love our section. We love our State. We desire as ardently as any of you their peace and progress. In this we reflect the sentiments of the Negro race generally. We acknowledge your power. We feel our weakness. We are here together. We are here to stay. This is our country. We have no other. Our sweat and tears have enriched its soil. Its sods have been mellowed by the dust of our fathers. You are strong. Your history for a thousand years is one magnificent conquest. Your responsibility to the world and to God is great. We would not minimize the difficulties that con-



front both races. We are facing real and stubborn problems. Let us bring to their solution our sense of justice. You can afford to be just—even generous. Justice must be the basis of your permanent ascendancy. The Bible is the fountain of all justice. It is the one great high code from which there can be no appeal. It is the universal solvent of every difficulty, every perplexity, every problem that can arise out of the life of men. It illuminates every gloom; it surmounts every obstacle; it throws such a flood of light along the path of duty that "the way-faring man, though a fool, need not err therein." It decides everything. No question, however abstruse, can resist the great law of right that pervades it throughout. No question in ethics, economics, society or government, can involve intricacies so profound that they may not be laid bare under its clear and searching analysis. With such a sure guide ready at hand, the wonder is that we are ever vexed by problems that carry no other complexity than our duty, relation and obligation to each other. Indeed, with the Bible in hand, there can be but one problem: Shall we accept the teachings, the life, the law, of the Lowly Nazarene, and yield ourselves to the benign sway of the Prince of Peace. When men attempt to subvert the law of God and substitute their own selfish, despotic wills, problems arise, difficulties mount up, troubles ensue, and often tremendous forces clash. The Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Golden Rule settled everything. Bring your Jim Crow laws, your disfranchisement laws, your Negro segregation laws,

your school apportionment laws, to the touchstone of these mighty foundations of Christianity and see how they will appear. Draw your social lines as taut as a cabal. We do not object to that. We simply plead for just and equal laws applicable alike to every class of our citizenship. This Republic had its birth in a revolution. The fathers held that taxation without representation was unjust, oppressive and should be resisted. They went to war with the mother country to maintain this right. Negroes fought side by side with white Americans to establish and make perpetual this principle. In the Declaration of Independence, a document dear to every patriot of the Republic, occur these memorial words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The Negroes of the South are paying taxes on over \$700,000,000 worth of property. When the amount of these taxes is computed—state, county, municipal, township, special, and general, they run high up in millions of dollars. Yet the laws of every Southern state disfranchises us. We have no voice in the choice of those who make our laws, administer our government, levy, collect and spend our tax money.

This too, in flagrant violation of the constitution of the United States to which we have

all sworn allegiance. If it is wrong to tax white men without allowing them representation in the taxing power, is it not equally wrong to tax Negroes without allowing them representation in the taxing body? Is not justice universal and unalterable? Specious pleas of extraordinary occasions will not avail. Edgar Gardner Murphy, one of the brightest and best of the younger generation of white Southerners, in his "Basis of Ascendancy" thus puts it: "The fundamental political constitution of a people cannot be perpetually readjusted between meals by devices of application. It cannot be so altered, from instance to instance, so that it may 'hit the Negro' in one case and in the next let the white man off. The thing cannot be done. 'Accidents' will surely happen. The man who declares boldly that he will have one law for the white man and another for the Negro would like us to believe that the only opposition to his program lies in the Negro, or in the 'interference of the North,' or in the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. But the real obstacle is somewhere else. It is in the very nature of things; it is in the bone and being of the country; and—as little as he may at first believe it—it is in himself."

"No American, North or South, white or black or yellow, wants that sort of a country. We know if we know anything at all, that our own experience is, somehow, the final authority against arbitrary methods."

"Moreover the very institutions which our discriminations were at first invented to protect are soon, by the increasing bias of these very discriminations, emasculated of their power. If it is hard to convict a white man of the

murder of a Negro, it soon becomes equally hard to convict him of the murder of a white man.

"Courts which find themselves unable to punish the crimes of a stronger class against a weaker class discover that the legal precedents and the social habit which have stood between the strong and the weak are likely at last to stand between man and man through all the classes of the strong. And the failure to punish means the inability to protect. 'In any society human life in general tends to become as cheap as the life of its humblest representative.'"

The Jim Crow laws of every Southern state compel Negroes to pay the same fares for transportation as are paid by white passengers. This ought to insure equal accommodation in the comforts and conveniences of travel. Anything less is gross injustice—the taking of that for which no adequate return is given. What are the facts? Go to the Union station in Raleigh. Here Negroes are actually denied the privilege of reaching the little dingy, apartment into which they have to huddle themselves for no other reason than to humiliate them. View the surroundings, enter the cars, or, rather the close, 10x15 compartment. Apply the Golden Rule. No Christian white man or woman would say that this is what I would have done done unto me were the conditions reversed. We speak not in the language of reproach. We simply plead—entreat—for justice. Our forbearance, our prudence, our patient waiting, should not be misconstrued. They should not vaunt the plea of indifference. All progress grows out of a feeling of specific need. Where no such feeling

exist there is inertia. Man is commanded to work out his "salvation with fear and trembling."

"Ask and it shall be given unto you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you."

"For everyone that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened." Conversely if we ask not, we receive not; if we seek not, we find not; if we knock not, the temple door will ever remain closed against us. We come to you asking, seeking, knocking.

New South's Race Views

From the depths of despondency at the outbreak of the war and the "buy a bale of cotton" period, the South is today experiencing the greatest prosperity in its history. There is but one fly in the ointment—the Northern migration of labor. The fear of losing its staple supply of labor is causing a revolutionary readjustment of racial prejudices. The original explanation that the Negro trek Northward was caused by the attraction of higher wages has been found not wholly satisfactory with the advancing labor costs extending into the South itself. The fact has been slowly and reluctantly grasped by the South that there is a deeper and older reason—the violent race prejudice with the consequent denial of law and justice and mob violence to which the Negro population has been subjected.

It is beginning to be understood that, all things being equal, the Southern Negro prefers the Southland, which he loves as his home, but cannot forever submit to the treatment and perils to which he has been exposed by Southern habit and prejudice. When the exceptional labor conditions due to the war offered him an asylum in the North he fled to it. The South, bereft of its labor, has only itself to thank. It is seeing this today. One evidence is the stand taken here and there through the South in condemnation of lynch law and mob methods. Self interest is demanding this reform because it is the sole hope of keeping the labor remaining. It may not be too much to hope that the enthusiasm with which the Negro draftees have taken their places in the army of democracy may also have something to do with it. Men who are good enough to fight for their country are entitled to its protection in their homes. A new South industrially is emerging from war conditions, a South that will be more concerned with the future possibilities than with the prejudices of the past. That is the best hope for an awakened popular opinion that will end the lynching disgrace and free the Nation from the reproach of racial anarchy.

The Negro Problem in the North

Until the New York Negro Is Citizen in More Than Name, Until He Is Accorded Voluntary and Unbiased Consideration by the Great Political Parties, His Civic and Social Problems Will Remain a Thorn in the Side of Society.

—By MARION WEINSTEIN—

THE real problem of the New York negro has little to do with the influx from the South. It lies deeper than labor, housing and educational difficulties, pressing as they are. It is to be found in the political status of the negroes who have long been here, but are no part of the democracy of the city.

This is the view of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, director of publications and research of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and editor of its monthly, "The Crisis." The negro, Dr. Du Bois finds, is not considered a civic quantity in cosmopolitan New York, or in other cities in the north, for that matter. As a citizen he is tacitly ignored. He and the rest of the 125,000 to 150,000 colored people here are regarded as an appendage to the community.

"Whenever there is any local movement for social betterment," he points out, "the negro is forgotten. He is either invited in last or only as the result of pressure. He is never expected to play any part as a civic factor. People do not sit down and argue that he should be left out. It simply does not occur to them that he should be included.

"There would be historical reasons for such an attitude in the south. But why is it found in the greatest city in the world, made up of polygot peoples theoretically, at least, the most liberal minded?

"The leaders of society here, in its broadest sense, are active in all kinds of uplift work to fit the masses for political and industrial democracy. But they take no heed of the negro.

"When they are asked to admit colored people into their calculations they have to hold a special consultation. They must go into the whole question of the size of the negro's head, his slavery and his destiny in the world to come. Finally, in nine cases out of ten, if provision is made for him, he enters in a separate compartment, cut off from contact with other people. What chance has he to be taught himself or to teach them out of their prejudice?

"The thing for you to do is to develop your own institutions," workers for civic betterment advise the negro. This the colored people have been forced to do at such a rate in New York and elsewhere that Dr. Du Bois and other leaders

see grave dangers ahead. A kind of hyphenism has been thrust upon them, they say. They are driven to develop as a separate group, within barriers—Americans, but not an integral part of America. "It is easy to build up such unhealthy walls," Dr. Du Bois cautions, "but hard to break them down."

The city government itself gives the negro little more recognition than do the civic groups. At present, according to Dr. Du Bois, the colored population is represented in the conduct of municipal affairs by one indictment clerk, another lawyer, some janitors and two policemen. In this respect New York is behind other backward cities of the north. Philadelphia has fifty negroes on its police force. Chicago has seven colored commissioners and one alderman.

Nor is this the fault of the particular party in power. The negroes here have found that they fare best when Tammany is at the helm. They expect least from reform administrations. When Seth Low became mayor, for instance, he was approached for recognition. "I have appointed a janitor," was the answer. Mayor Mitchel was urged to "tie the colored people to reform," but he waited until the last year of his term, when he appointed a negro to the Board of Education.

"The reformers have little sympathy for the colored man," Dr. Du Bois explains in recounting these cases. "Why? Because they are highbrows and have had contact with him only as a servant. He is invariably kicked to 'the other side,' which always does do something for him. It may be only to appoint a lot of janitors, but there is some effort to recognize him. This is true not only here but in other cities in the north. Why, in Philadelphia, it is almost impossible to pry the negro loose from the 'gang.'"

"Because the city itself ignores its colored citizens there are almost no public institutions of recreation or social uplift here for them. The few they have are their own. The large negro section in Harlem has no public baths. It has no playgrounds. If we ever do get playgrounds they will come not as the natural equipment for that part of the city, but as separate institutions, 'colored playgrounds,' in response to a definite demand from the negroes. That will

mean that 'white playgrounds' elsewhere will be closed to them.

"The 'colored playground' would probably be conducted better than the ordinary one. The kind of young colored person the city would get for it would be just as well educated as the white supervisor and more intensely interested. But the point is that the negroes would have not a public but a segregated playground."

Municipal indifference to the negro is due largely to his status in the various political parties. Traditionally he is a Republican, but within the G. O. P. ranks he is given scant notice. The Democrats can offer him little recognition because of their national situation.

"No regular political party will nominate a negro," Dr. Du Bois says. "Yet there are whole congressional districts where we have the majority vote. Only the new solidarity forced upon the colored people has given them a representative in the assembly. We are compelled to bolt tickets, not for principle but for color.

"We thought we saw hope in the Progressive party, but Mr. Roosevelt aimed to split the 'Solid South.' We were asked to support Mr. Wilson in the last election. Soon after he received a large colored vote he shifted negroes who had been civil service employees for years. The Socialists do not feel strong enough to welcome us, and when they do they won't need us.

"So the negro remains a man without a party, a citizen with no civic standing. All that remains for him is to gather voting strength to use as a club, for there is no political haven in sight."

URGENT ACTION ON NEGRO PROBLEM

Speakers at Methodist Conference Dwell on Its Critical Aspect

SOCIAL CENTRE IN
SOUTH END ASKED
BOSTON MASS HERALD
APRIL 4, 1918

The Rev. Dr. Edgar Blake of Chicago, speaking in the Temple Street Church before the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, told his audience that the Negro problem was reaching a critical stage, and that in dealing with the Negro the church had got to make her practices square with her preachments.

"There is not any church in America," he said, "which draws the color line so closely as does the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South, and the time has come for her to stand with her skirt Whitaker Mrs. C. H. Hanford, Mrs. clean in this matter. Even though we have a democratic organization like the color line has become increasingly distinct in our church. I have never seen a colored constituency get any consideration except during an episcopal election, and the colored people are farther than ever from the realization of their ambition to have a bishop of their own race."

Danger of Situation

Referring to the recent migration of 800,000 Negroes from the southland to the North, the speaker dwelt on the danger of the situation, saying that competition with white labor might precipitate explosions unless proper provision could be made. "The time has come," he added, "when North and South must deal fairly and squarely with the Negro and must deal with him as a man. I do not know any Negro who is not as good as I am. But if we are to have racial separation and segregation—and that may be the best thing—then we must see to it that the Negro's school and his churches, his opportunities that make for manhood and Christianity are as good as those of the white man."

He discussed plans for the unification of the two branches of the church and described the aims of the joint commission now in charge of those plans.

At the anniversary meeting of the Freedmen's Aid Society, presided over by the Rev. J. E. Allen, the Rev. A. L. Scott, the colored pastor of the Fourth Church, made a strong plea for the church's aid in establishing a social centre for the 18,000 Negroes of the South end of Boston. "Do you wonder," he asked, "that the Negro is leaving the South and coming North when many of the southern states are burning Negroes alive at the stake?"

Doors Closed to Negro

The Rev. P. J. Maveety, corresponding secretary of the society, reminded the conference that while Russians and Italians found all doors open to them when they reached this country, the black man had nearly every door shut against him, simply because he was black, adding that in many of the states the Negro was confined to the humblest and least remunerative employments, except in case of positions in which he served his own race.

An account of the work of the society was given by Dr. Maveety, and during the evening a number of young colored people from the Fourth Church led the meeting in patriotic songs.

Gov. McCall was the chief speaker at the opening of the conference in the morning. In welcoming it to Boston, he compared the type of men needed in the early days with the type that are needed today, and spoke of the ministers of the Methodist church as men who never make an appeal to ease and comfort, but are ever ready for the hardships that often are necessary in their work.

Bishop Hughes, in thanking the Governor for his address, spoke appreciatively of the stand His Excellency had taken in the past few days on the prohibition question and added that his presence on this occasion was all the more welcome on that account.

Mayor Peters referred to the stand which the President was taking in demanding for the country and the world a permanent peace, recommending that everybody stand back of him earnestly.

The memorial service for deceased brethren was conducted by Bishop Hughes, who called upon several of the leading preachers to speak words of exhortation for the Rev. Peter Black, the Rev. James M. Sutherland, the Rev. Church in the South, and the time has come for her to stand with her skirt Whitaker Mrs. C. H. Hanford, Mrs. clean in this matter. Even though we have a democratic organization like the color line has become increasingly distinct in our church. I have never seen a colored constituency get any consideration except during an episcopal election, and the colored people are farther than ever from the realization of their ambition to have a bishop of their own race."

The conference sermon, celebrating the semi-centennial of the class of 1868,

was prepared for the afternoon session by Dr. James Mudge, the veteran Methodist preacher and author, who begins his 75th year tomorrow. Read in the presence of Dr. Mudge by the Rev. W. E. Huntington, who presided, the sermon embodied a personal narrative of work in the ministry, a statement of beliefs and a call upon the church for a higher and stronger spiritual life. Dr. Mudge dealt especially on the need for adaptation to the newer tendencies of religious thought. He congratulated his audience on the emancipation of the church from the literal interpretation theory of the Bible. "The worst enemies of the Bible," he said, "are today some of its most orthodox champions. The exhaustive and scientific study of the Bible has done 10 times more good than harm. It has constituted a new reformation greater than that of Luther by delivering the human mind from the theory of a literally inspired Bible. If the church is to advance steadily and reach its highest religious prosperity it must acknowledge the need of both knowledge and zeal."

At the meeting of the Conference in the afternoon, Prof. Walter S. Athearn of Boston University spoke on "Church School Methods." The Rev. H. M. Morse, head of the board of home missions of the Presbyterian church, discussed the problem of the rural church.

NEW BEDFORD MASS MERCURY JUNE 26, 1918

The affect of the war upon the negro is disturbing the south. The colored men are soldiers once more, doing some of the finest fighting in France. If there is anything your southerner dreads it is a negro under arms. He seems to think the end of everything will come by this means. The fear seems to be that the negro, in many instances held as a peon, will abandon the fields where the southerner would hold him to pick cotton. Rebellion of the Helots looks to them as a possibility, not of course, by means of the gun. There will have to be reconstruction in the south after the war as elsewhere. The negro has been learning much and will learn more. Service in France has opened his eyes. His vision has been much broadened. And the splendid type of his service will naturally lead him to expect to look for the rewards to which he will be entitled. He will walk with his head a little higher. He will receive and deserve more respect.

The negroes at home are in quite a different status. The appeal for labor has reached them so that they are commanding higher wages. They are said to be becoming exceedingly prosperous and are riding about in automobiles. For a long time the southerner has been able to dominate the negro through his poverty. It will be difficult to get the negro back to his old status. Moreover, prohibition is helping the negro a great deal. Heretofore the whites have been of real service to the negro, although, perhaps, unintentionally in so far as ultimate effects are concerned. It was to keep whiskey away from the negroes that the south has been so overwhelmingly

to do things—in a word, to accomplish something in your life. Pepton, a real iron tonic, will give you what you should have—an abundance of iron in your blood. It combines iron with nux, celery, pepton and other valuable ingredients. It is in the form of chocolate-coated pills, pleasant to take, easily assimilated. Does not cause constipation.

Moorfield Storey On Negro Question

Christian Recorder

Boston's Distinguished Lawyer Speaks Boldly In Defense of Negro—Says Democracy Should "Make America Safe For Americans"—Negro Does Not Suffer! Comparison With Other Races

Hon. Moorfield Storey, of Boston, the former Private Secretary to Charles Sumner, the former President of the American Bar Association, and the President of the N. A. A. C. P., in an address before the Wisconsin Bar Association, on the "Negro Question," on June 27, 1918, powerfully stated the case of the Black Man. It was an address worthy of Charles Sumner at his best. He said, in part:

"If, in the first few years, the Negroes made a foolish use of their newly-acquired power, they acted under white leaders, who led them wrong, and who were able to do so because the men to whom for four years they had shown such unexampled loyalty, refused to lead them right. At the worst they acted as people act who are ignorant and unfamiliar with the business of the government. Who has kept them so ignorant and so unprepared to exercise their rights as men? Compare them with the Bolsheviks or even with the French in 1789, and tell me what they suffer by the comparison; compare their worst follies with the deeds of the Ku Klux Klan, or the atrocities of East St. Louis and Dyersburg and you must admit that we white men, who for centuries have been civilized, can cast no stone against them.

"What is there, then in the Negro which justifies or in any way excuses our treatment of his race? We brought him here and we have governed him ever since. The conditions which exist are of our own creation. We have made the laws under which he lives; we administer them. Save in a few states his vote is negligible. He has no representation in Congress or in executive office. He simply exists as God made him and as we have degraded him. While we deny these millions of men their rights as citizens we demand of them the fulfillment of all the obligations of citizens. We tax their property, and in the supreme crisis

with Francis Scott Key. I do not believe that any person present had heard much of Liberia, and it is astonishing how few of the white race in this country know of it. One of its four States is named Maryland—in honor, doubtless, of the efforts of Francis Scott Key in the American Colonization Society. My great-grandmother emancipated scores of her own slaves and almost impoverished herself in order to carry out her designs. I have in my possession many letters written from Liberia by these liberated slaves.

The constitution of Liberia is modeled after that of the United States of America, only I believe it has a provision in which was put in it by the white people for the protection of the black, that no white man has any political rights, which the negroes are bound to respect. In other words, the white man has no right to hold office or to vote, if he undertakes residence there. I learned from a magazine writer who is investigating conditions in Liberia that American-freed negroes have never mingled much with the African natives, and that there has been considerable hostility and ill-feeling between them. It was interesting to note that Liberia declared war upon the Kaiser; and it was recently reported in THE SUN that Monrovia, its capital, had been bombarded by a submarine.

My grandfather was a Northern emancipationist of the liberal and well-informed type, who was working hand in hand with my Virginia relatives for emancipation prior to the war. Yet, curiously enough, when the war came about and the families split on either side, it came to be asserted that the Virginia emancipationists were fighting for the perpetuation of slavery, when all their lives they had been struggling to free themselves of this incubus! This misapprehension as to the cause of the war is accepted by a large proportion of the American public today, including the so-called "intelligentsia," and the error is perpetuated by many of our "standard" histories.

The negro has rarely shown any willingness to leave this country and go to Africa under any circumstances, and many of the liberated slaves of the first half of the nineteenth century actually refused to go. Others were offered their freedom if they would go, but they preferred to remain in slavery. The negro has ever had difficulty in greatly improving his condition except under control or direction of the white race. It may be recalled that President Lincoln attempted some disastrous experiments in colonization much nearer than Africa.

I am heartily in favor of helping the colored race to help itself in every possible way; and, in the future, social settlement work will have to take the place of the patriarchal care which was a characteristic of the old South. The Southern people are beginning to awaken to the need of this change. As the mutual affection between individuals appears to be passing away, something else must take its place if we are to work for the good of both races in this country. The sins or offenses of the few in either race react against the welfare of both. It must be remembered just what these negroes were when they were first brought over to this country, and their total lack of development. Although they have been in contact with a more advanced race for many years, too many of them have a tendency to revert to type when left to their own devices. It was once believed that the American negroes would civilize and Christianize much of Africa, but as it stands now, I learn that American missionaries, some of them Baltimoreans, have been working among the Americo-Africans in an effort to restore in a

measure the moral standards their ancestors had attained in this country.

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS.

Baltimore, April 26.

COLUMBUS DISPATCH
FEBRUARY 5, 1918

FOR NEGRO PROGRESS.

To the Editor of the Dispatch.

Sir: It is not often that I break into print, but a letter in your evening issue of the 28th, signed "E. D. A." under the caption of "The Negro Protest," I believe calls for a reply in part even though it be from a stranger in your midst.

I have been reading with interest the letters appearing in your issues, from time to time, and one or two thoughts that have always been uppermost in my mind, and those of most Southerners, and which have not been touched on as yet, is the negro's position with his own race. This may be vague, and putting it more frankly, why do not the negroes co-operate more closely and thus elevate their position?

It was once my pleasure to attend a service of noted negro ministers, among whom were some men who had accomplished a good deal in the educational world. A noted bishop made it a point to bring up the negro's position socially and economically, and he impressed not only me, but his entire audience with these words: "Our white brother has long been recognized and is the ascending race, and we can only imitate—we can only emulate. It will take us years and years to accomplish what our white brother has. This is true, not because the white brother has not given us schools and advantages to make better negroes, but because the negro race back in the confines of Africa only began to use his brain when the white man found him. The white race then was centuries ahead of him. We do not aim at social equality—that is impossible—and unfortunately only the dark side of the negro race comes before the white man. If he comes to our churches and schools he sees the better side of us. He sees the dark side of us because some outlaw negro assaults the white woman, commits murder, robbery and other crimes. Now, the thing for the negro race to do is to suppress vice and crime, to make it safe for an white woman to walk through a dark street without fear of molestation."

It would appear that if the negro would look around them, get together (they are strong enough), hunt out these criminals and turn them over to the law, they would not only be patriotic but be making these United States and this good city of Columbus a safe place to live in. Thus the white man would see their brighter side and continue to extend him privileges, which if he is aspiring enough, are always within his reach.

A Sojourner.

RECONSTRUCTION AFTER THE WAR.

The readjustment and reconstruction problems, which will follow the war, are already demanding and receiving attention in Washington. We have until now been so intent upon winning the war, that we have not fully understood the radical changes made by the war in our social, political and industrial systems; the war has created the greatest upheaval ever known to our government and to our customs, as a people.

Two bills are now before Congress providing for a Federal Commission on Reconstruction. The Democrats generally are supporting a measure designed to give the President the right to name the commission. The Republicans are supporting a bill to create a similar commission but which provides that the commissioners shall be six Senators and six Representatives. A rather neat piece of political strategy is involved in the two propositions. The Democrats would have the President clothed with the powers of creating the commission, while the Republicans would have the commissioners composed of Senators and Representatives, thus securing to Congress the vast powers of such a body.

The Democratic measure was presented by Senator Overman. He denies that the President, or any administration official wrote the bill, or conferred with him over its preparation or introduction. The Overman measure appears to have the support of the administration Senators. The Republican measure was introduced in the Senate, by Senator Weeks, of Massachusetts, and in the House by Representative Madden. The Republican measure was introduced some days ago. When it was followed by the Overman bill a flurry of excitement resulted, for it was recognized that a sharp party fight was about to be precipitated.

The Negro Problem In the North

New York City Has No Negro Educational Problem, but Its Colored Population Suffers with Other Citizens Because Public Schools Are Not Adapted to Their Needs—Short-sighted Municipal Attitude Toward Play Makes for Juvenile Delinquency.

N.Y.C. MAIL

FEBRUARY 19, 1918

By MARION WEINSTEIN

THE New York negro has no special educational problem. He wants and he gets for his children what the public school system provides for all citizens. What appear to be his peculiar problems are simply the result of the city's general failure to fit every school to the needs of its own district and to recognize the far-reaching importance of play.

In the largest negro section of the greater city, the twenty-five Harlem blocks that house 70,000 of the total colored population of 120,000, there are two public schools. Ninety per cent. of the 2,060 pupils in one, P. S. 89 for boys, are negro children, as are 50 per cent of the 2,400 girls in P. S. 119.

Negro leaders speak highly of the sympathetic efficiency of the principals of both schools, Jacob Theobald of 89 and Mrs. Harriet A. Tupper of 119. But what equipment does the city give these educators to meet the individual requirements of this community?

The greatest special need of this negro war-born industrial opportunities have found him, this leader says, unprepared. Unless his children are given a chance to lay the foundation for trade skill in addition to their full share of academic training they will face the same gap between the normal as well as the recent influx of children from the South who come here unprepared to enter the grades in our schools that their age would warrant.

"In the South the average school term lasts from three to five months, usually three. Add to that the fact that the teachers of the colored children are very poorly equipped for their profession, in many cases getting from \$15 to \$30 a month.

"Then, too, there is no compulsory education law. Parents take their children out of school whenever they feel like it. And, unfortunately, they feel like it too often in the course of the short term. The result is that we get boys and girls up here physically fourteen years old and mentally seven or eight.

"For these overaged pupils P. S. 89 has but two ungraded classes and P. S. 119 has five. The boys' school requires six more, and the number provided for the girls should be doubled. There are many girls in P. S. 119 sixteen and seventeen years old who are fit practically for a 3B grade."

DR. ROBERTS also points to the lack of shops in these schools. The negro's

Both schools, Dr. Roberts urges, need more visiting teachers. As for play facilities, the Watt estate, at 138th street and Lenox avenue, is available for a park and a playground.

The community center in P. S. 89 he says is one of the poorest in the city, despite its chance to be of great service to the adult negro citizen. The evening school, however, compares favorably with others here.

BOTH principals declare that the colored children respond readily to attempts to help them. They are industrious and also patriotic. P. S. 89 reports a sale of \$4,000 worth of thrift stamps. P. S. 119 boosted the Liberty Bond total by \$50,000 and has contributed work amounting to \$400 to the Junior Red Cross. The girls are now busy making layettes for French and Belgian children. The boys of 89, incidentally, have saved the city hundreds of dollars by preventing bonfires in the district.

There are 12,000 young negroes from five to twenty years old in this section. There is no playground worth the name for a mile around. Morris is the nearest park, and formal Morningside.

Numerous accounts were published recently of a "new million-dollar recreation center" for negroes in Harlem to be erected by a colored corporation. Responsible citizens in a position to know have no hope that the center will materialize for many years to come.

"Camouflage," John E. Nail, the leading real estate dealer, calls the reputed plan. Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, and Dr. Roberts fully expect it to remain a paper project.

So the task of providing wholesome play facilities for these 12,000 young negroes is still entirely up to the city. Will it choose to cut its parks and playgrounds budget or its juvenile court figures for Harlem?

"OUR NEIGHBORS" OUR BROTHERS IN BLACK

Reuben E. Spivey

The following article is a reprint of the graduation oration of E. M. Spivey of Trinity College (white) Durham, N. C. who won the Wiley Grey Orator's Medal. It is a very frank and liberal presentation of the much discussed "Negro Question." Coming as it does from a young southern white man makes it all the more interesting—Editor.

"In the discussion of the Negro question I think I can safely say that no one of us believes in social equality. We do not believe in it because we realize that it would not be best for our civilization. Nor does the better class of Negroes want it.

We do not believe in political equality to any great extent, because most of us do not believe that Negroes are

yet capable of exercising properly the ballot. They are not yet well enough versed in government and politics to make them desirable participants in political affairs. On the other hand, however, all of us do believe that they should have legal equality, and except in cases where their social economic conditions result in discrimination against them, we believe that they receive equal justice in our courts with the poor of our own race. But there are three particulars in which they too often do receive: namely, discrimination against them in service on railroads, in the matter of streets, city lights and police protection; second, in the matter of sanitation; and third, in the matter of education.

In considering the matter of discrimination against the Negroes on the railroads, we must understand in the outset that we do not advocate a mixing up of the whites and the blacks in the same coach, but what we do advocate is equality in service. The Negroes pay identically the same fare for traveling as do the white people, and they are entitled to the same class of service, but we must admit that they do not receive it. Statistics show that 90 percent of the coaches in which they ride are old dirty, rickety ones which have been used for years. Over, the train crew generally occupies the Negro coaches, and smoking, spitting, and using of unclean language is not uncommon. Of course it is urged that those acts are generally all right in the presence of Negroes, even though they be women, but where is there any justification for such attitude? We have no right to make such discrimination against them.

We are making unjust discrimination against the Negroes in the matter of streets. Naturally, the Negroes are segregated in our towns and cities. They have their own districts in which to live, and in a large percent of cases they have practically no Sts. Take the city of Durham as an example, and I might say that Durham is more considerate of her Negro citizens than many Southern cities, yet there is not a foot of paved street in her Negro settlements. During wet weather it is impossible to travel them with any degree of comfort and satisfaction. Their sidewalks, too, are only a little better than a country road, except for a few hundred feet of which they

Negroes paid half the cost. In the winter months, it is impossible for the laborers to go to their respective places of work without wading in mud up to the tops of their shoes. What does this mean? It means a loss to the employers, because when the Negroes get to their work, their feet are wet and cold, and they are unable to render their best services. Moreover, their health is impaired, and in many cases they are kept away from their work for weeks at a time on account of sickness. I will admit, of course, that Durham is not too enthusiastic about providing streets for her white citizens, but I believe that we, as honest men and women shall have to admit that generally we are not giving the Negroes a square deal in this matter. I do not believe that it is wilful on our part generally, but it is negligence, and we have to suffer for our negligence as well as the Negroes.

We are unjustly discriminating against the Negroes in the matter of street lights and police protection. It is a known fact that the prime object of city lights is to decrease crime, for darkness is an incubator of crime, and it has been shown that wherever the city places a light it drives crime somewhere else.

Yet statistics show that Negro settlements in Southern cities have only 60 per cent as many lights as the white settlements. Policemen are rarely ever seen in the Negro settlements except when they are called there to restore order, and they sometimes then fail to go. Thus we see that we are leaving the Negroes practically to themselves in their dark unprotected quarters, with no encouragement, to commit all sorts of crime, and yet we complain at them from being a worthless, rough, gambling, murderous set. How could they be otherwise? What would be our conduct if we were regarded as an inferior people shut off to ourselves in our own dark, unprotected quarters with the feeling that nobody is interested in us? If we would provide adequate lights and police protection for the Negroes and give them a word of encouragement and let them know that we are interested in them and that we are expecting them to be good citizens, who of you do not believe that we could reduce crime at least 50 per cent? From a social economic standpoint it would pay us. Society would be improved, the number of cases in court would be reduced,

and our jails and penitentiaries would be less crowded. From the standpoint of right, we should provide better streets, lights, and police protection. The Negroes pay taxes just as we do. It is true that they do not pay as much taxes as we do. Neither would it take as much to provide them with these necessities, because their settlements do not comprise as much territory. In the light of these facts, there is no justification for such discrimination against the Negroes.

In the second particular, we are unjustly discriminating against the Negroes in the matter of sanitation. We are allowing them to live in our towns and cities under the most adverse sanitary conditions. As a result of the sanitary conditions, under which the Negroes are living, thousands are dying annually, and we are losing millions of dollars. Statistics show that 450,000 Southern Negroes are seriously ill all the time. The annual cost of their sickness amounts to \$75,000,000. One hundred and twelve thousand Southern Negro laborers are seriously ill all the time, and their annual loss in earnings is \$45,000,000. Two hundred and twenty-five thousand die annually. The annual loss to the South in potential earnings because of preventable diseases and deaths is estimated to be \$174,000,000. The farming interests lose annually from sickness and death \$200,000,000. The annual economic loss is estimated at \$300,000,000, much of which could be saved through sanitary improvements and should we prevent the loss of this amount, it would provide good school houses and six months' schooling for every child, white and black, in the South. To cite a local example: the city of Charlotte, North Carolina, with a Negro population of only 12,000 loses annually \$450,000 \$250,000 of which might be saved through sanitary improvements. The State of North Carolina, with a Negro population of 750,000, loses annually \$25,000,000; \$15,000,000 of which authorities claim could be saved through sanitary improvements. Thus we see that this great question from a financial standpoint, vitally concerns us.

In the third particular, we are unjustly discriminating against the Negroes in the matter of education. In the first place, their school buildings are poorly constructed and very in-

adequately equipped. In most cases their school buildings are only frame buildings and are generally excellent fire traps. Take as a specific example, in Whitted High School building this city: It is an old frame building having at least five furnaces in it which render it subject to fire at any time. Last winter it caught on fire three different times. As compared with any of the six white schools in the city, it is very inferior. Moreover, Negro teachers are poorly paid, their salaries ranging from \$30.00 to \$37.00 per month while the white teachers range from \$50.00 to \$75.00 per month. Then, too, the terms of the Negro schools are generally from one to three months shorter than those of the white schools. Moreover, the division of State educational funds is unjust to the Negroes. Last year the State of North Carolina raised approximately \$4,000,000 for education, of this amount the Negroes received only 8 per cent, which was approximately 50 per cent of their pro rata part. Thirty-eight States in the Union provide medical aid through their universities for white students. Not a single State makes any provision whatever for medical aid for Negro students.

Lastly, we are unjustly discriminating against the Negroes in the matter of the total public school property. In North Carolina the average value of investments in public school property per child of school age white and black is \$16.00 for white and \$4.00 for Negroes.

Is there any justification for such discrimination against the Negroes? For fifty years we have striven to justify this discrimination against the Negroes first, on the ground that they are not capable of development, and second, that development makes them less desirable citizens, but we are now forced to admit that there is no justification for such discrimination. In the few brief years since they were emancipated and turned out in the cold world without shelter or food they have proved their capabilities and their excellent qualities of citizenship. Why just thirty years ago, 70 per cent the entire Negro population over ten years of age were illiterates; but today only 28 per cent are illiterates. Furthermore, the Negroes have built homes, schools, churches, hospitals, established banks and life insurance companies, acquired wealth, and today

they own \$1,000,000,000 worth of property in America. They have made this progress in spite of their original ignorance, their weakness, their dire poverty and the fiercest competition ever encountered by any people. Yet we are forced to admit that this progress of theirs has not weakened our nation. We shall also have to admit that it has not made them less desirable citizens.

It has never been found in all the world that a sane and thorough intellectual equipment has been detrimental to moral or to industrial efficiency. It is not the educated Negroes that fill our jails and penitentiaries and work in our chain gangs. These places are given over to the ignorant and depraved. Our court records show that 90 per cent of Negro indictments are against the ignorant. Again referring to the local high school for Negroes in this city out of 312 graduates covering a period of twenty years, only one has been indicted for an offense. It is not the educated Negroes that make up our idle and bad vagrant and criminal class; it is the illiterate. The trained Negroes live in better homes; wear better clothes, eat better food, do more efficient work, create more wealth, rear their children more decently, make more decent citizens, and in time of race friction are always found to be on the side of law and order. These things seem to be worthy fruits, and whatever system produces them should have our approval. If we are to be fair to ourselves, fair to the Negroes, and fair to our country, we must see that they are provided with the necessary advantages for development. If their sympathies are to be the same as ours; if they are to better understand the government that protects them; if they are to have a more thorough understanding of their relation to their country; if they are to be able to interpret life; if they are to have the proper appreciation for all these things, we must develop their mental and spiritual qualities, for it is only through mental and spiritual development that they can better know their rights and more highly value them. If it is right and for the best interest of our country to spend our money and our efforts to assimilate the low class of foreigners coming into our borders through lax naturalization laws what ought we do for Negroes, who are with us in great numbers and who are Ame-

ricans by birth?

In conclusion, let us remember that if we would be a truly progressive people: if we would decrease crime; if we would establish peace and harmony among our citizens; if we would become the nation of our dreams, we must develop those higher and nobler qualities of every American, regardless of race or color, for we must know that ignorance is not a cure for anything. Let us not forget that if we would keep a man in the ditch we must stay there and hold him or bound him. If we would check the progress of the Negroes by depriving them of the advantages for efficient development, we must necessarily check our own progress, for their progress is our progress. We should not be blinded by prejudice to the fact that this great issue vitally concerns our future power and permanency. Our national strength is not measured by the strength and usefulness of a single class or race, but by the strength and usefulness of each individual whether he be white or black; therefore it behoves us to make every individual the strongest and most useful citizen possible. A chain is no stronger than the weakest link in it. Neither is a nation's strength greater than the strength of that weaker race when the race constitutes such a proportion as is done by the Negro race in America. Let us remember that when we make any one of our citizens a more desirable and useful citizen just to that extent do we augment our power. Power and authority are the gift of God, and to use the words of Governor Aycock, "We hold our title to power by the tenure of service to God, and if we fail to administer equal and exact justice to Negroes whom we have been depriving of development, we shall in the fulness of time lose power ourselves, for we must know that God trusts no people with authority for the purpose of doing injustice to the weak."

May it be our earnest desire and unflinching ambition to make our country a place where righteousness, justice, freedom, and pure democracy shall reign supremely.

INFLUENCE OF NEGRO SHOWN

Race Adjustment Discussed by

Prof. Haynes

NASHVILLE TENN TENNESSEAN

APRIL 1, 1918

Fisk University has been having a series of Sunday afternoon lectures on race adjustment. In preceding Sundays President F. A. McKenzie, A. M. Trawick, international secretary of the Y. M. C. A.; Mrs. Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee Institute; Dr. C. V. Roman of Nashville, and Prof. J. W. Work have spoken to large audiences of white and colored people. Sunday afternoon the sixth lecture in the course was given by Dr. George E. Haynes, professor of social science at Fisk University. He is also educational secretary and executive for the South for the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. He spoke on the subject of what the negro can contribute to race adjustment following the address of Mr. Trawick on the white man's part in race adjustment.

He said that the negro's presence in America has greatly changed the American life, and that the race adjustments which the races make in America will help race adjustment all over the world. Continuing, the speaker said in part: "The effect of the negro's presence has been second only to the effect of the great wealth resources with which our country has been so richly endowed. Brought to this country in an effort to solve its labor problems in the felling of its forests, the draining of its swamps, the cultivation of its staple crops and the obtaining of control over nature, the negro from the early days of the colonies down to this present hour has been the cause of fundamental changes in the principles and practices of American life.

"Negroes and Caucasians over America have probably the greatest opportunity of any people on earth today to demonstrate that race adjustment can be made on the basis of brotherhood instead of on the basis of brutal force.

Negro Can Contribute Power of Humor.

"First, the negro can contribute to race adjustment a remarkable power of humor and sense of the dramatic. This is the power of seeing oneself in difficult situations, of appreciating the dramatic character of the situation and of being ready to smile with the world in spite of one's own predicament. I do not mean buffoonery of chicken stories and the like. I have reference to a sense of appreciation of the cheerful side of even uncheerful situations.

"The second contribution which the negro can make to race adjustment is an innate sense of the strength of personal relations rather than property relations as a basis of life and business connections. With the great rank and file of negroes the term 'brother' and 'sister' is as common today as 'thee' and 'thou' among Quakers.

"There is a third contribution which the negro people can make to peaceful adjustment. It is an intellectual and emotional product. I refer to music, painting, poetry and oratory. The jubilee songs have probably done as much as anything else to soothe race prejudice. Prof. John W. Work, who has probably known more about these songs than any other man, says in studying, singing and setting to score some 500 of them, he has found none which breathe a sentiment of revenge or hate or malice. They are filled with hope, joy, sorrow, love, faith, forbearance.

"A fourth contribution which we as negroes may make to the problem of race adjustment is to demonstrate the power of faith over force, whether that force be greater strength, of wealth or of numbers.

"By the power of faith, I have reference to three things: First, our faith in ourselves; second, our faith in the white people with whom we live; and third, our faith in the ultimate triumph of a democracy that shall include all men irrespective of race or color.

"The sixth contribution I present for your consideration is that of negro leaders. After all, race adjustments must be made between men and women. Also, the rank and file must have those who can speak and negotiate that which they desire. The white people have their able, devoted leaders who want to deal with sim-

ilar negro leaders. They need leaders, intelligent, sane and their honor in the face of disappointments and difficulties. They need men and women who will

MISSISSIPPI NEGROES ASK JUSTICE

—SEEKING CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

The Christian Recorder Mar. 21, 1918.

To the Members of the Mississippi Legislature:

We, representing the one million Negroes of the state of Mississippi realizing that our rights are wholly within your hands, most respectfully petition your Honorable Body for relief as follows:

For more and better schools and school houses for Negroes; for better trained and better paid teachers for our public schools that the state may thereby obtain better efficiency. Our constituents ask an act, the only true means of justice and equity, making the establishment of county normals, agricultural, high schools and consolidated schools compulsory for Negroes wherever established for whites, there having already been scores and scores of such schools established for whites throughout the state, but not one—not even in a single instance—has been established for Negroes, though we are being equally taxed for these purposes.

We ask that the capacity of Alcorn, which accommodates but five hundred Negro boys out of a Negro population of one million, be greatly increased and its present curriculum increased.

We ask an institution for the hundreds of Negro blind who, standing upon the street corners, causing their little hand organs to peel forth their doleful and painful strains are a reflection upon our civic pride.

We ask for a reformatory for Negro youths and at least one Negro trustee upon all boards of trustees having supervision of Negro schools and colleges.

In view of the fact that for a Negro population of more than one million the state of Mississippi furnishes higher education for but one hundred Negro girls, and that at Alcorn College, an institution established primarily for Negro boys, we are forced to ask that you establish a college separate and apart for the higher industrial training of Negro girls.

We have no sympathy with criminality in any form and most uncompromisingly condemn it in its every phase, but we equally condemn lynch law and believe that every person accused of crime should at least be given a legal trial, and therefore ask that your Honorable Body take such steps as may be necessary to put an end to the unlawful taking of human life in the State of Mississippi.

We believe that you gentlemen will agree with us that the provision

for the education of the Negro in Mississippi to-day is wholly inadequate, the poorest in all the South and, to the outside world, is regarded as a mere sham and makeshift.

In a manner we have no school houses in the rural districts. Our teachers are not paid living wages, so that competent teachers may be had. We are expected to constitute the real farmers in Mississippi, and yet the state has absolutely denied us the opportunity of having even a single agricultural high school. Our boys and girls are poor, in a measure barefooted—living removed from roads—and, yet, while you have the most modern consolidated schools for your children and transport them in modern conveyances out of a common fund paid by us all, you require the black boys and girls to tramp over hill and dale, over sleet and snow and "hie" their way to a little uncomfortable school hut and there be taught, or pretend to be taught, by an unpaid, untrained and unhappy teacher, on a salary insufficient oftentimes to pay her board alone, who only two often has an enrollment large enough for two or three teachers.

The United States Government pays eighty per cent. of the expenses for operating the Alcorn A. & M. College, and the support from the Mississippi Legislature is so small that it leads the Negroes of the state to believe that Alcorn College would hardly be maintained at all were it not maintained for the purpose of getting support from the United States Government for your own A. & M. College, and with the exception of the small assistance rendered at Alcorn the state leaves its Negro population to receive whatever higher education they may get from missionary schools supported by charity donated by the Christians of other states, and yet our government is calling for trained men as never before. The Negro realizes the injustice of the liberal application of large sums of money from the common tax fund with which to maintain schools for the training of your boys and girls and at the same time leaving his boys in outer darkness unprepared for the battles of life upon the cold charities of a cruel and unsympathetic world.

The Negro is human. And if a reformatory has been found most valuable in almost every state in the Union for white boys, don't you think it would help the Negro boys and in that way go a long way to lessen crime and establish a better

citizenry?

We also pray you gentlemen to consider whether or not you think it fair that the state of Mississippi provides for your blind, and that ours are turned upon the street corners, the by-ways and hedges, without any provision whatsoever, most pitiable wards of charity, when a little aid from the state would make them highly self-sustaining.

The man who does the labor pays the taxes. Therefore, the Negro's account is always balanced on this score; for we are the real taxpayers in Mississippi. And we cannot understand by what process of reasoning you gentlemen can conclude that is humane, just or reasonable to take the common funds of us all and use it to the glory of your children and leave ours in ignorance, squalor and shame. The Negro has been silent, but not asleep to these gross neglects, for these facts are too patent even the most obtuse. We are by no means too dull to most readily see and feel their pinching injustice.

We deplore the disposition on the part of many to oppose any measure that is beneficial to the whole body politic because it might be beneficial to the Negro. It is self-evident that you cannot keep us down in the ditch unless you stay there with us. The Negro is loath to believe that the state fathers will refuse to accept prosperity, and bring forth enlightenment and progress to the state simply because it might benefit the Negro. To do so would be equally as unreasonable as to refuse to exterminate the smallpox simply because the extermination thereof might prevent a Negro from having it.

Gentlemen, we pray that in the midst of this mighty struggle in which we are now engaged, the bloodiest carnage that the annals of the world has ever told, when our black boys are standing side by side with your boys, giving freely of their life's blood, falling upon the battlefield from shot and shell and noxious gases, a common foe battling in a common cause that the world might be made safe for humanity, liberty and Democracy, we pray that you will consider our right and the sacred duties placed upon you, you owe us in the administration of affairs that while the Negro is helping to make the world safe for Democracy you will make Mississippi safe in the matter of certain inalienable rights for the Negro.

If these matters are given substantial consideration a better era of feeling will pervade the state, a spirit of contentment will develop, the exodus which has struck at the foundation of the labor system of Mississippi, will be largely checked and the patriotic spirit will quicken as it has never done before.

Finally, we pray that these matters, which lie heavily upon the hearts of the one million loyal citizens and whose hearts bleed for simple justice and a chance in the

race of life for themselves and their little ones—may find a sympathetic response in your hearts, to the end that the future may be glorious for us all, and that the bond of sympathetic union and the mutual helpfulness may be tightened as the years go by and that you may find yourselves in the Legislature in the interest of all the people and not of some of the people.

Race Prejudice Deplorable Some of the Jokes Are Good Cadet Young's Hard Struggle Give the Overflow a Lift

DETROIT MICH TIMES

By James Schermernorn

The unafraid Rabbi Franklin has more than once put his finger upon a serious defect in our social structure.

He now indicates one of the anomalies of democracy when he resents the affront put upon his faith by an age that is only too happy to profit by the vast contributions Jewish genius is making to our expanding American life in times of peace and war.

But it is an age-long unlovely human trait which the scholarly rabbi deals—a deeprooted imperfection which it will take more than a world war for equality, to eradicate.

To err is human, to forgive divine; to feel that one is an elect spirit of a superior guild comes with breath.

Will someone lead in prayer while all pray to be delivered from giving stings and slights or feeling them?

Friend Franklin's pride of race and creed is splendid and his protest most timely when the blood of all liberty-loving peoples is being poured out against autocracy.

But it is a pity he does not get more enjoyment out of the current jest that exaggerates (sometimes inordinately, but usually playfully) the conquering characteristics of his aspiring people.

For back of the badinage in the joke about the Jew is a tribute to his historic record of self-reliance and success.

Doubtless there is envy, too,

at times, when the quip comes from the lips of the intolerant.

"The village that I came from didn't have a single Jew in it," said a shallow bigot.

"That's the reason it's a village," observed Solomon, who happened to overhear.

All the effusion of blood on southern fields did not efface—nay it served to intensify—the enmity felt toward the man with black pigments under his cuticle.

It makes no difference that they are pinning the cross of honor on our colored soldiers in France, the undiluted democracy for which they bleed will never be for them, quite.

Cadet Young, colored, from Ohio, was reminded bitterly every hour of the day while he was a cadet at West Point that he was different—one set apart by a matter of complexion. But he stuck thru five heart-heavy years and won his commission.

When his class held its 25th reunion he was included in the invitation as a token that he had worn the uniform of his country worthily.

He wrote from the American legation at Monrovia, in far-off Liberia, that he was busy training a native frontier force, making maps and building roads thru the Big Bush to the hinterland.

Then he added a word that made his classmates very thoughtful, yet very helpless to correct the inequality to which he adverted.

"I need not tell you those were hard years for me at West Point, yet I have school-ed myself to think only of those who were kind. I have tried hard in the service of my country to repay her and them for what they did for me.

Col. Goethals was among those who gave me great encouragement. Yet I do not feel free to write to him."

The Negro: His Present Status And Outlook

N. Y. CALL
JUNE 3, 1918

By ENGENE V. DEBS.

The leading article in the Intercollegiate Socialist for December-January, 1917-18, on, "The Problem of Problems," by Prof. W. E. B. Du Bois, dealing with the Negro question in the United States, deserves wide reading and sympathetic consideration. It presents the Negro question to the American people from the standpoint of the Negro himself, and as an issue of commanding importance which the nation can no longer ignore or palter with save at its own peril.

In speaking for the Negro Dr. Du Bois stands squarely upon the Negro's rights as a human being, which rights have been shamelessly outraged from the day the first African natives, stolen by pirates from their native land, set foot upon American soil and were sold into slavery by their brutal captors.

The whole history of the American slave trade and of African slavery in the United States, clear down to the present day, is black with infamy and crime against the Negro, which the white race can never atone for in time or eternity. Most of this revolting history has never been written, and little of what has been written has been allowed to reach the people. Not one person in a thousand knows the facts about the stealing of the Negroes by the pirates that supplied the American colonies with their black slaves; about how men, women and children were driven aboard the pirate ships, corralled like beasts, in filth, half-starved, naked, their backs scarred and bleeding from the cruel strokes of the keeper's lash, and half or two-thirds or even more of them dying from torture on the voyage and their dead bodies cast into the sea as so many dead dogs.

This was the beginning of the monstrous crime against the African Negro by the white settlers of the American colonies—the crime that lay at the foundation of the infinitely greater crime of chattel slavery which grew out of it, and which had to be expiated by rivers of blood drawn by the sword from white men's veins—the crime of three centuries without a parallel in history.

But only a minor part of this crime of crimes committed against a race has ever been atoned for, complete restitution for which can never be made.

Never do I see a Negro but my heart goes out to him, and I feel like

apologizing abjectly to my black brothers for the crime and outrage perpetrated upon his race by the race to which I belong. I look into his starved, brutalized features, his dumb despair, and I read the tragic story of his foul betrayal and shameless spoliation of body and soul, traced there by the hand of the Almighty as the ghastly indictment of the white man for his unspeakable cruelty toward his black brother.

But I am not to deal with the past in this writing, save only as a background for the present status and the future prospect of the twelve million Negroes now in the United States. Professor Du Bois has made an initial contribution to this great question which places the issue squarely before the American people, and he insists that they shall face it and deal with it as an enlightened nation should deal with a national problem which has become so grave as to menace its very existence.

Professor Du Bois speaks out with becoming courage and candor. There is none of the apologetic spirit of Booker Washington in his attitude. He is admirably conscious of the rectitude of his purpose and the righteousness of his cause, and every word in his stirring appeal in behalf of the Negro merits hearty approval and appreciation.

Dr. Du Bois has just cause to find fault with all the various schemes for ending the great war and bringing lasting democratic peace to the world, which schemes have nothing whatever to offer to the Negroes and other races despoiled and held in subjection by the white race. Says Mr. Du Bois:

"In the peace proposals that are now being made continually, the future of the natives of Africa, the future of the disfranchised Indians of the Eastern and Western Hemisphere, and the disfranchised element of the Negroes of the United States has not only no important part, but practically no thought. What you are asking for is a peace among white folk with the inevitable result that they will have more leisure and inclination to continue their despoiling of the yellow, red, brown and black folk."

Quite right! There is thought for the Belgians, the French, the Italians, and even the Germans, but none for the twelve million American Negroes who are nominally citizens of the republic, yet most of whom have been stripped of their franchise by the rape of their constitutional guarantees and who, in the general reckoning of those who prate about war for humanity and democratic peace, are to remain "damned niggers," or at best "niggers" merely, on a dead level with other beasts of burden.

Freedom of speech is another phase of the question which takes little heed of the rights of Negroes to

the treatment due to human beings, to say nothing of free men, as Professor Du Bois so pointedly and pertinently says:

"You are taking up the problem of the freedom of speech. Many of you are vastly upset by the increasing difficulty which you have in discussing the war in America; but I should be much more impressed by your indignation if I did not realize that the greatest lack in freedom of discussion of American problems comes not in problems you are not allowed to discuss, but rather in those which you are free to discuss but afraid of. I know and you know that the conspiracy of silence that surrounds the Negro problem in the United States arises because you do not dare, you are without the moral courage to discuss it frankly, and when I say you I refer not merely to the conservative reactionary elements of the nation, but rather to the very elements represented in a conference like this, supposed to be forward-looking and radical."

These words are as true as they are courageous and commendable. Even among Socialists the Negro question is treated with a timidity bordering on cowardice, which contrasts painfully with the principles of freedom and equality proclaimed as cardinal in their movement.

There is but one way for Socialists to deal with the Negro, and that is to regard him as a human being, the equal in point of rights and opportunities of every other human being on earth. If he is less cultured it is because he has been robbed and despoiled by the more cultured, and this instead of militating against him but accentuates his claim to decent consideration.

The Negro asks no favors; he seeks no privileges; he spurns the white man's supercilious airs and patronizing cant. As a matter of fact he owes the white man little but his contempt. The very crimes he commits spring from the seed sown in his brain and heart centuries ago by the white thief who stole him from his native land, lashed him as if he had been a beast, exploited him to the marrow of his bones, and did all in his power to sink him to the level of a brute.

All the Negro requires is that he be recognized as a human being and treated as a man. This is absolutely all. Nothing less will and nothing less should satisfy him; and nothing less will ever solve the problem and remove this growing menace to the nation.

The Socialist who will not speak but fearlessly for the Negro's right to work and live, to develop his manhood, educate his children, and fulfill his destiny on terms of equality with the white man misconceives the movement he pretends to serve or as the courage to live up to its principles.

The Negro is "backward" because he never had a chance to be forward. He has been captured, overpowered, put in chains, plundered, brutalized and perverted to the last degree. That is why he is backward. All he needs is environment, opportunity,

incentive, the rights of a human being, the treatment due a man, the chance to do his best and he will take care of the rest, and when final accounts are cast up he will have no reason to blush when comparison of results is made with his erstwhile white "superior."

The Negro is entitled to exactly the same economic, political, social and moral rights that the white man has, and until these are fully recognized and freely accorded all our talk about democracy and freedom is a vulgar sham and false pretense.

The Negro is my brother. The color of his skin is no more to me than the color of his hair or eyes. He is human and that is enough. I refuse any advantage over him and I spurn any right denied him, and this must be the attitude of the Socialist movement if it is to win the Negro to its standard and prove itself worthy of his confidence and support.

Professor Du Bois touches briefly upon the summary execution of the Negro soldiers of the 24th Infantry at Houston, and the infamous massacre of the black innocents at East St. Louis, the former to placate the anti-Negro sentiment of the South and the latter to glut the savage lust of corporate greed and incidentally to put a foul blot upon the American labor movement.

The cowardly attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the Negro during the last 25 years explains in a large measure the barbarous massacre at East St. Louis.

Only within a few months has the American labor movement opened, reluctantly enough, a back door through which the Negro may now meekly enter and take a back seat, and even this door had to be forced by the stern logic of events of which the appalling tragedy at East St. Louis is a chapter written in the blood of Negro women and children slain by their murderous white neighbors. Had the labor unions freely opened their doors to the Negro instead of barring him out and, in alliance with the master class, conspiring to make a pariah of him and forcing him, in spite of himself, to become a scab and strike-breaker, the atrocious crime at East St. Louis would never have blackened the pages of American history.

The Negro is just as responsive as the white man to decent treatment; just as susceptible to the touch of kindness, just as eager to prove himself a man possessed of character and honor, if but given the chance.

Some 25 years ago I was on an organizing trip in Kentucky. At Louisville I appealed to the white railroad men to admit the Negro shop and track laborers to their union. They refused. A few days later the white men struck. The Negroes, though insulted and repelled by the union, came out to a man. The white men, fearing the strike might be lost, rushed back to their jobs and defeated the strike. The Negroes stayed out and lost their jobs.

This proves conclusively, without a doubt, that Negroes are a degenerate race; that they lack character and are depraved; that they ought to pay first class fare and ride in cattle cars; that they are fit only for menial service, such as blacking white men's boots, emptying their cuspidors, and waiting on them as lackeys; that there should be rejoicing in the community when one of them is lynched or burnt at the stake, even if innocent, and that the

vilest creature in a white skin is still immeasurably the superior of an enlightened, cultured and self-respecting Negro.

In closing let me say to these black brethren of ours that their salvation, after all, lies with themselves. The overwhelming majority of them are working people, and they represent more than one-tenth of our entire population. They need to get together, to stand together, and assert their united power industrially and politically in behalf of their class. Like the white slaves they need the light, the power, the education; they require the power of knowledge, and this light they must generate and this power they must develop within themselves. They will progress and command respect in proportion as they are enlightened and organized, and have unity of purpose and the power to enforce their demands. Then, and then only, will they take their rightful place in society and have equal voice with all others in the control of the nation and in realizing the ideals of civilized humanity.

COLUMBUS DISPATCH
JANUARY 23, 1918

THE COLORED RACE.

To the Editor of the Dispatch.

Sir: One can hardly pick up a newspaper of late without seeing letters therein written by some member of the colored race protesting against their treatment by the white people. Fifty-eight years ago the negro race were slaves; they were bought and sold as merchandise, were dominated over and had no apparent rights of their own, the history of the civil war of '61 and '65 needs no recounting. All are familiar with it. The white man's blood ran as rivers to free the black man from thralldom and the sting of it. It cost our nation countless precious lives, destroyed homes, broken hearts and billions of money to accomplish the abolishment of slavery and today the white man is giving employment to the black man, to his wife and to his children.

What would the colored race do today without the aid of the white man? Do you hear of the colored people building any factories or industries for the employment of their race? Neither do I. The colored man is free. He is allowed to vote, to preach, to teach, to come and go unmolested as long as he obeys the mandates of the law. He can if he will make for himself a home for his wife and his children. His race is employed in the best homes of the white people and, as far as I have seen, are both treated well and given a substantial compensation. And I never heard of a white man knocking down a colored girl or woman and stealing her purse.

The thing for colored people to do today in this hour of war's calamities is to look about them and see what they have to be thankful for and bear their share of the nation's burden cheerfully, instead of continually registering kicks against the white race of inequality and such useless chatter, and above all things to thank God that they are not under the dominion of Prussianism.

Quercus.

WHITE PEOPLE TALK ABOUT US BEHIND OUR BACKS

The Louisville Courier-Journal
May 30, 1918.
MAYOR OF CHARLESTON "GOOD
FRIEND OF RACE."

Says Colored Folks are Inferior And
Should be Sent Back to Africa.

Someone has said, "Whenever two or three white people get together they discuss the Negro." This may or may not be true, but it is a fact that at a convention recently held in Buffalo, Mayor Grace of Charleston, S. C., one of the speakers, "apropos of nothing," as a paper said, launched into a discussion of the Negro and declared that individual a little lower than the rest of mankind. The convention nor His Honor's subject had aught to do with the Colored American, but His Grace had to get the stuff off his system.

The Buffalo Express, a white newspaper, along with others, severely criticised the Southerner for his prejudiced remarks. Grace answered and his answer contains much that is of interest, for he is undoubtedly a type of the better element of the "superior race" and of the "good white friends" of the race. We reproduce the correspondence:

Mayor Grace on the Negro.

Editor Buffalo Express:--My attention has been called to an editorial in your valuable paper of March 18th, entitled, A Jarring Note, in which you criticize certain sentiments expressed in my Buffalo speech which, I understand, you published almost in full on the previous day, for which I thank you. It seems to me, however, that while you published the speech in full you could hardly have read it in full; or, reading it hurriedly, perhaps did not quite follow its meaning; else I do not see how you could infer that "apropos of nothing in particular, but apparently because the orator has to unpack his heart on all occasions of his sectional prejudice" I went out of my "way to turn the thumbscrews of another oppressed race." Assuredly, that was not my intention. I have never turned any thumbscrews in this part of the country, where, perhaps, it might be thought profitable to do so. Why, then, should I do so, and especially "apropos of nothing

ing," in a section where I might well assume that I would meet with a deserved rebuke?

I think I may say without fear of contradiction that, within certain conscientious limitations which a lifetime of observation at close range compels me to recognize, I am a sincere friend of the Negro. I have been so in the midst of a most hostile local sentiment, and when it seemed that only to speak in his behalf for justice was to risk my career, here in a community where he needs friends far more than he does in Buffalo.

The theme of my address was Genuine Americanism, and the extract which you condemn cannot be fairly interpreted standing alone, but must be taken with its context. I had accepted the broad foundation for Americanism which Jefferson adopted in the Declaration of Independence, that, "All men are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, depriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." I sought to show that these truths, while they formed the basis of our liberty, were, nevertheless, not always if ever, strictly adhered to, and I had instanced that from the very beginning Jefferson himself had recognized that the abominable institution of African slavery was incompatible with them and that throughout our whole career as a nation in one way or another the Negro question had cast a shadow in actual practice over the beautiful theories of freedom.

Could anything be clearer throughout my address than that I regretted this? It was my purpose to call up the spirit of consistency and truth, so that we might become not only the sayers but the devotees of the gospel of liberty, and then, having put our house in order, we might justly evangelize the world. Yet frankness compelled me to say that the racial differences between the Negro and the Caucasian were so irreconcilable that equality of citizenship had never

been and could not be made to work out on the same soil. If you will read my address carefully you will find that I nowhere deny to the Negro in essence the right to govern himself or to enjoy in full the blessings of Jefferson's principles. My only regret is that they should be sought under our conditions in the South, where to grant them would mean that the Negro must not only be allowed to govern himself but to govern us also. In the spirit of a most genuine Americanism, it is my sincere conviction that this is positively unthinkable. We know from experience that it would spell ruin to our civilization and, therefore, I suggested the alternative which Jefferson believed the only one—restoration of the race, to that part of God's creation where He originally placed it and from which it was taken by violence and not with its consent, not coming thence, as did every branch of the Caucasian race which came to America, to mingle with our common stock and become wholesomely amalgamated. The Negroes were brought as savages and sold as slaves, as would the hunter sell so many animals to be domesticated in our midst.

You and I had different views upon the adaptability of the Negro to our institutions, to our culture and to our natural absorption into the great American family. I will not deny that there are rare exceptions which seem to argue his potential equality in all save physical accidents. I regard him as human, endowed with an immortal soul and, of course, as much entitled to the rewards of virtue as any of his fellow men. I only said that I did not regard him as my equal in "every" respect. I added, "nor did Jefferson." And now I might further add, "nor did Lincoln," who, while he lifted from his neck the yoke of slavery, at the same time carefully refrained from extending to him electoral privileges, etc. You will remember when the Republican party was founded it was called by its enemies the black Republican party as a sneer upon its tenets, which Douglas and others pretended included the principle of equality "in every respect" between the races. Do you not recall in the Lincoln-Douglas debates in answer to this Lincoln said: "Because I do not wish to make the Negro woman my slave, does that mean I shall make her my wife?" You believe, contrary to Lincoln, that the Negro is your equal in "every" respect. I do

not. You say, "It isn't true that the Negro is inferior to the Caucasian in capacity for civilization. Anthropology shows that." Perhaps, but this is not to the point. If the Negro occupied a separate territorial state from the white man, he might, by imitating our own, develop a splendid civilization. I gravely doubt it. But where the two races inhabit the same territory, the Negro adds absolutely nothing to our civilization, and we are determined to preserve intact our own race, upon which depends our civilization, and having the present means of carrying out that determination, the consequence necessarily is that the Negro is excluded from certain privileges, complicating the application of genuine Americanism. This, therefore, works the injustice of which I spoke. It compels us to deny in effect the principles of Jefferson and drives us to the anomaly of white minority, rather than black majority rule. Far from speaking in passion or prejudice, or to "unpack my heart," etc., can you not see that my whole attitude was one of regret? For I wish to make this land of ours thoroughly American. I wish again to recall that, as far as it has been consistently possible, I have been a friend of the Negro. Incurring the wrath of the ignorant and prejudiced in this community, over fifteen years ago, when I first came to the bar, finding that all the finessed theories of his constitutional rights had been negated by a cruel system of peonage, far worse than slavery, I set my face against it and broke it up.

Our state supreme court had previously held valid so-called labor contract laws passed manifestly for the purpose of perpetuating a system of enforced labor that took the place of slavery without any of its redeeming incidents. Constitutional provisions against slavery and involuntary servitude had become a dead letter. In all decent and humane hearts this system of peonage which flourished peculiarly in this neighborhood stirred up the deepest instincts of rebellion, but nobody who could do anything dared do anything. It was almost anathema to lend one's ear to the voice of the wretched peon. Down here where the Negro population outnumbered the white on the sea islands sometimes 200 to one, every man, woman and child among them had relapsed into a condition of peonage, and as legal talent along constitutional lines was monopolized by the

whites, and, as the courts themselves lent a willing ear through political fear to laws which legislatures in turn passed at the behest of planters, you may readily see how everything combined to stifle constitutional provisions against slavery. Thank God, it was I who broke these conditions up! You cannot imagine the temporary obliquity I suffered. Nobody who would go through all this could speak in aught but honesty on this question.

I mention this to clear myself in your mind of the charge that "the orator has to unpack his heart on all occasions of his sectional prejudices." I can assure you that I have none. I feel so charitably disposed toward the Negro that if I had the power by waving some wand over the South and indeed, over the earth, whereby the degrading marks which God Himself seems to have placed upon him could be wiped out, I should be quick, were it not blasphemous, to do so. We have 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States. If by saying to them, "You are white, you are moral, you are intelligent, you are identical with me," it would make them so, do not doubt that I should like to do so, for it is not my desire to regard any man as inferior. The designs which a wise and omnipotent God had in making them so inferior to us that many humane and intelligent students believe they are actually not of the same species. I cannot fathom. I am satisfied, however, that nothing short of ages and ages can bring them to our level. Of course, the vicious process of miscegenation has, in alas too many cases, blurred the dividing lines and may continue to do so, but the hybrid is a compromise which makes one shudder. Granting (which is doubtful) that it improves the Negro, it seems to me that you must admit by the same token it deteriorates the whites. I do not believe, again to paraphrase Lincoln, that "any civilization can endure half white and half Negro," and yet that is the prospect unless you can devise some super-human way of making black white. The average mind, coming in daily contact with this situation, not as a theory, but as a condition, sees nothing but strife and injustice ahead, which, on the slightest irritation, expresses itself on the limb of some convenient tree.

Deportation may have been "a physical impossibility in Jefferson's time," but it is not now. Our Negro population consists of 12,000,000. We are to embark in an overseas adven-

ture which, according to the latest estimate, means the transportation of 8,000,000 troops and vast equipment within a few years. England asserts that she has already transported 13,000,000 in the past three. I cite this to show how easily this problem disappears. I grant you, as an obstacle to deportation, there is a large sentiment here, even expressing itself in our statute books, which "objects so violently to the diversion of a small percentage of its low-priced labor," but, notwithstanding your interference to the contrary, this sentiment has no terrors for me.

These men are thinking in terms of today or of some momentary industrial problem. I do not consider "burning at the stake a beneficent example to be set by a superior race to an inferior one." That is the view of the type of mind in this vicinity which objects to the "diversion of even a small percentage of its low priced labor," for it is a natural corollary that those who believe in injustice in one form are the very first to employ it in another.

The hateful genius of oppression which captured naked Negroes on the shores of Africa and brought them herded in vessels, the survivors to be sold as slaves here, is that which pre-sides over the idea that they should be kept by force of law in our midst as a matter of convenience and profit to be kept wholly or partly in op-pression and burnt occasionally at the stake, perhaps as a beneficent example. But I am thinking, I trust, in terms of justice. While yet we may do so, and before the whole race is corrupted and the lines worn thin, and regardless of the immediate effect upon our industries, I would remove them from the conditions under which their salvation can never be evolved to conditions such as under which they can work out their own salvation and leave us to work out ours.

I trust that there is nothing unfair, unjust or inhuman about this or inconsistent with Irish love of liberty "for all men, in all lands everywhere," guided always by the same vision which accepts as definite and perpetual the racial boundaries which the Almighty Himself has made.

I write this in the best spirit, with no malice, and only hoping to make my views clear. May I not ask you to publish it? John P. Grace. Charleston, S. C., April 12.

We gladly comply with Mayor Grace's request, that his communica-

tion be printed in full, though it is a reply and three times as long as the editorial to which it is addressed.

Miss Ackerman is an exceptionally able speaker, a woman whose exceeding fine training and personality and travel has made her a woman among women. Dr. W. Sampson Brooks introduced her to the audience as an old friend of his, who had attended his church when he pastored in Chicago, while she was studying settlement conditions. Later during his travels in Europe and the Holy Lands, he had been a member of a party in which she traveled.

Miss Ackerman, in an address which can never be forgotten by all who heard her, vividly pictured the Black Man's loyalty in this country from its infancy to the present day, from the American Revolution to the present world war. She told them that this was their beginning and that there was "something beyond", if they through organization and unity grasp and hold it. She praised the black boys now under arms and said, "They are making a name for themselves 'Over There'."

An interesting feature of the meeting was Charles Knight and his helpers, who set a new record for the world in riveting at the Bethlehem Ship Yards, not long since. They were greatly applauded, when they were called to the rostrum and introduced to the audience.

A. J. Brown, a foreman of the Bethlehem Steel Company, was induced as the highest paid Negro mechanic in the United States.

A compliment to the colored men of the company and indirectly the race, was paid by Mr. Frank J. Brown, a superintendent in the ship building plant.

The audience went wild with applause when Miss Ackerman said, "I do not know people as races or colors but i just know a lot of people, whom, according to God's Word, were created out of one blood." And again when she said, "Of course we are all believing that when democra-

cy is made safe for the world, all over the world, that it will be made safe here, for you and for me."

Dr. C. M. Tanner, pastor of Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, Washington, D. C., was called upon to speak while the money was being counted, and got eloquent in a short while so much so that when it was announced that the officers were through counting the money the audience was loath to have Dr. Tanner stop speaking.

The offering amounted to \$101.78. Mr. John Murphy, editor of The Afro-American was master of ceremonies.

COLUMBUS DISPATCH JANUARY 28, 1918 THE NEGRO PROTEST.

The Editor of The Dispatch.
Sir: I wish to call the attention of "Quietus" to the fact that 187,000 black men fought for the North, and if white men gave us liberty; we gave them an undivided country.

To be sure, the white man has given us education, and, up to certain limits, has extended to us the other blessings of his civilization. But he owes us vastly more than he has given. He has not yet paid for those years of labor that formed the basis of his economic prosperity; and he never can repay the race for the cruelties it endured and the indignities suffered. These are things that have only been adjusted by the magnanimity of the negro.

You cannot conceal a multitude of evils under the much-abused name of patriotism. Democracy begins at home. Is it not paradoxical to fight for the extension of democracy while denying it within our own confines?

Furthermore, any disparagement of our loyalty is a lie by its very nature. No one can challenge the statement that the negro is the most patriotic citizen of this nation. In every conflict he has fought with fortitude and courage and never has he been anything but pro-American.

For my part, I am glad that the negro is protesting; I am glad that he observes the abuses on every hand and is crying out against them. I can speak only for myself, but I think I voice the sentiment of the younger and more progressive element of my race, when I say that from now on protests will be frequent and insistent and that they will never cease until democracy shall no longer be a mockery and an empty name, but an actual fact.

E. D. A.
WORCESTER, MASS.
JANUARY 15, 1918.
He is But Half a Man—A Plea That Justice Be Given the Negro.
To the Editor of The Gazette,

Sir:—Recently several fellow-students have asked me my attitude toward the war and American policy. These queries, together with the latest lynching atrocity, have prompted me to seek decided expression through

your columns. It is indeed a peculiar situation in which the thinking Negro finds himself in a time of national crisis like this. It is the old case of being between two thorns, or, in psychological terms, a case of split personality. Two forces are warring within the breast of each and every colored man, woman and child, and how could it be otherwise with things as they are? The Negro has been termed a 'long sufferer,' and that he has truly been. It is only with his great soul conflict of today that he is becoming conscious of his own pain and woe. Let us view this inner conflict at closer range.

In the first place, the Negro forms no mean component of the American population (12,000,000). Such a large group is today without an iota of representation. According to statistics this people pays taxes upon property valued past the billion mark. Through the South, where the bulk of this property is and where schools are separate for white and colored, there is comparatively nothing much done for the colored people in the way of education. Justice in the courts is a rare thing. Here lies the ground for the first inner conflict of the Negro soul as it was the ground for the struggle of '76, namely, "taxation without representation."

In a second great place is the menacing oppression which the Negro is made to feel at every turn—an oppression which even the federal government tolerates with impunity. There is no need to describe the horrid American atrocities against the Negro. Not satisfied with having reduced a people to the level of slaves, they now burn them at the stake without trial. They shoot the Negro down in his tracks, they gag him, they rape and seduce his women-folk and then gloat over what they term the Negro's inherent immorality, degeneration and bestiality. His home is burned from under him. In sections of the country, at times, mob law is supreme representative of the federal government. It is indeed a shocking wonder that some compassionate and benevolent white citizen has not founded a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Negroes. The sorrows of Belgium can but ill compare with the sorrows of Afro-America. The East St. Louis riot, the Houston horror, and the latest Still Spring barbarity ill compare with so-called German atrocities. Yet the federal government fails to act one way or the other—the same federal government which broke the chains of slavery—the same federal government which freed Cuba from Spanish oppression—the same federal government which now would free even anonymous peoples across the seas from autocratic oppression. Nevertheless I must fight now for the perpetuation and exaltation of such hypocrisy.

The soul of black folk is already rent in twain, I tell you. Within the soul of each member of my race the conscious self is saying, 'Serve your country, while the unconscious from out of the depths is thundering, 'You have a poor cause to serve. On the one side the martial music and the tramp of soldiers exhort to arms and patriotism; on the other side in moments of sweet, silent thought the words "God punish America" ring of salvation. What is to be done to reconcile these opposing forces within my soul? I realize that I am but half a man. I long for the oneness of soul of Jean Paul Richter when he confesses, "I am with my country right or wrong; if right, to keep it right; if

MISS ACKERMAN
Daily Herald
THRILLS BETHEL
AUDIENCE

Before one of the largest audiences which ever packed Bethel A. M. E. Church, Miss Jessie Ackerman, secretary of Mrs. Anna Howard Gould spoke last night. Mrs. Gould, who was to have been present, was unavoidably detained in Washington, where she is looking after the interest of the Negroes who are facing a serious condition from lack of prop-

FRANCIS CECIL SUMNER,
Fellow in Psychology
Clark University

Race Problem - 1918

United States

MOST SUCCESSFUL MEETING IN HISTORY

**OFFICERS ELECTED—RACIAL CONDITIONS LAID BEFORE
PRESIDENT—McADOO INTERVIEWED CONCERNING TREAT-
MENT ON RAILROADS. REPRESENTATIVE TO STUDY
MORALE OF NEGRO SOLDIERS IN FRANCE**

Washington, D. C.—The National Race Congress which met in Washington, Oct. 1, 2 and 3, held perhaps the most successful and most influential meeting ever held in its history and the largest delegation took part. The sessions were held in the Metropolitan Wesley A. M. E. Zion church, and were presided over by President W. H. Jernagin.

The following officers were elected: Rev. W. H. Jernagin, D. D., Washington, D. C., president; Bishop I. N. Ross, Washington, D. C., vice-president; Rev. C. H. Stepteanu, Baltimore, Md., secretary; Rev. J. H. Randolph, Washington, D. C., assistant secretary; Rev. A. A. Graham, Phebus, Va., corresponding and financial secretary; W. H. Dean, Washington, treasurer; E. A. P. Cheek, Newark, chaplain; William H. Harrison, Chicago, national organizer; H. J. Callis, chairman executive board.

There were a number of things accomplished looking forward to racial betterment. President Woodrow Wilson received the whole convention in the executive office, and the racial conditions were laid before him; then a conference was held with Director General William G. McAdoo, and he was told by representative of the race the treatment received in some sections of the country on railroads; and it was decided to send a representative to France to study the morals of the Negro soldiers, and they are going to ask for a representative on the peace commission and five men will be sent to the commission wherever it meets.

Some strong addresses were delivered during the week, and Judge Williams H. Harrison, presented the case of the whole race to the President in a manner which held the President spell bound and at times he was almost moved to tears.

Emmett J. Scott, special assistant to Secretary Baker of the War Department delivered a special address and brought before the Congress some valuable information concerning the Negro in the war. He said that 350,000 members of the

President:

Headquarters National Race Congress,
903 3rd St., N. W.
Washington, D. C., Oct. 1, 1918.

Hon. Woodrow Wilson,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. President.

The National Race Congress in an annual conference of delegates from several states convened to consider the conditions of our people in the United States and to construct a program for the development of the social, economic and spiritual life of our race. We seek to foster the aims and aspirations of a free people; and to secure to our fellows the guarantees of the Constitution of the United States, by lawful agitation, fellowship and service.

We meet this year when our country is at war. We feel with all other Americans the burdens that war imposes, and we offer to our country, not our bit, but our best. Our loyalty is unwavering, our service is whole hearted. Our history has no taint of treasons. Our blood has been freely given in all our country's wars. Hence we have earned the right to speak in our own defence if our rights are abridged.

We are grateful Mr. President, for the fine ideals you have set forth to America and the world; and we are particularly pleased with your pronouncement against mob violence. It gave encouragement to the heart of every true American, and is the harbinger of hope to all colored men in the United States. It makes us feel that the day will come when you may exercise the full power delegated to you as the Chief Executive of our Nation, and summon to your aid the full force of a statute of the United States Government by which such lawless acts may be suppressed.

We know that offenses will be committed. We do not condone crime, but we ask for our people what is accorded to others: viz, that all individuals charged with crime, should be given a fair and impartial trial by a jury of their peers.

We now bring to your attention Mr. President, a matter that heads up under the Interstate Commerce Commission, but which we bring to you because relief has not come from that source. Our people are unfairly treated by the railroads of the South. The laws of the Southern States prescribe that "there shall be separate but equal accommodations, they are in no sense equal. The treatment our people receive as passengers on railways in the South, is in open violation of the law; it is unfair, unjust and degrading. Therefore we beg that you use the authority of your exalted office to change these conditions making travel equally safe, comfortable and healthful to all who pay the same tariff.

The black soldier fights best when his mother, wife and sister are not humiliated on the common carriers

of his country because of race prejudice.

Another grievance that is hindering the war spirit in our race is, the fact that in some of the administrative offices of the government in Washington, D. C., and elsewhere, race discrimination is nullifying the letter and spirit of the Civil Service law; and delaying winning of the war by depressing the enthusiasms of the aspiring people of our race. Our people who aspire to positions above the menial grade in some departments, are flatly denied consideration, and some times, if a fair official gives work to such aspirants, they are marked for insult or humiliation by boorish officials or discourteous employees. These discriminations disturb the morale of our young people and lower the efficiency of both, the offender and the offended.

This species of prejudice against race and color, sometimes, many too often, finds its way into the Army and Navy of the United States.

Our brave black boys have given a good account of themselves in the fight against the Hun, and we protest against any discrimination in the Army and Navy based on race or color. We ask a fair trial in all branches of the military service.

Mr. President, we seek just an impartial dealing from the officials of our government; we believe you to be providentially directed in the guiding of our Nation at such a time as this, and we beg you to give us the protection we are fighting hard to win and offer to others.

We ask you to encourage us in honoring the freedom you love. Let us be Americans in character regardless of color. Let us have no "Jim-Crow Cars," no segregation, no disfranchisement, no prescription, no partiality and no prejudice in the government administration of public affairs.

Finally Mr. President; wrongs so open, weigh down the hearts and slow the movement of the people who are otherwise happy and anxious to serve their country. Now, as never before, do we as black men, need to give to our people the spirit of hope, inspiration and love of country. Changing the conditions complained of will make it easier for the leaders of our race to direct and influence our people in the activities and sacrifices incident to winning

N BEDFORD MASS STANDARD
JULY 8, 1918
THE NEGRO CHANCE.

The Negro problem is to be a special phase of the Methodist centenary program, in the immediate charge of the Home Board of Methodist Missions. A Negro preacher from Philadelphia has been addressing the seven hundred centenary district superintendents on what the movement involves.

He has been closely in touch with the Negroes migrating from south to north. He has felt their pulse. The things they want changed in their lives

are typical of the changes to be wrought in the general Negro condition.

Seventy-five thousand of the seven hundred and fifty thousand Negroes who have come north in the past few years have gone to Philadelphia, and this minister has met many of them at the station and has sounded their depths at the moment when their hearts were full, at the uncertainty of their situation. What he says of their reasons for leaving their homes is what all the students of the matter have repeated as the great incentive in the Negro migration. They have come to get work at better pay, and to get a place of safety for life and limb, and a place that will give them better educational facilities and better social conditions.

This spokesman for the race cautions against any misunderstanding of his last ambition: "These people do not mean social sameness, but social equality. That is, they want to have houses just as good as yours and clothing just as comfortable, provided they are able to pay for them. They want to be able to live on a street amid surroundings just as conducive to health and moral lives as yours. By social equality we do not mean that they want to live in the same house with you unless you want us, nor in the same street."

He puts up to America the question of whether or not these folks are worth saving. Inviting tolerance and interest, he says: "These people of ours, these colored folk, are not wholly to blame because of their conditions. I am begging you just now, representing these twelve millions, to remember you had fifteen hundred years or more in which to make your climb. If we have not got up there yet it is because the climb is hard, the road is long, and the gravitation is tremendous." Addressing the flag, he expressed the two dominant desires in behalf of the race as moral justice for criminals and not lynch law, and a fair chance to live.

Just as the report of this conference and this address appears in the press, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People issues this statement:

"Do you realize that 248 Negroes have been lynched and killed by lawless mobs since the United States entered the war; that in Tennessee, within twelve months, three black men have been burned at the stake and the bodies of two others burned after lynching; that in Louisiana eleven Negroes have been lynched since America entered the war, three of them for 'hog stealing'; and that eight Negroes, one of these a woman, were lynched by Georgia mobs in one week in May? Think what these ugly facts mean at a time when the nation is summoning her sons, black and white, to fight for a better world order."

Opposing this statement is this other:

"Do you know that 157,000 sturdy young colored Americans are loyally serving in the armed forces of the nation and that 36 per cent of all Negro draftees have qualified and been accepted for service as against 25 per cent of white draftees?"

Already the answer to the demand for a fair chance is sounding, and sounding along the right lines. Many are the indications in the south of a real awakening to the mistakes of the past. The movement within the Methodist church is evidence of the growing sense of responsibility in the matter of Negro progress. It is a matter so great as to need a vast concerted rush.

WHAT WILL THE NEGRO GET OUT OF THE WAR.

What will the Negro get out of the war he is now engaged in, is a question almost daily asked of some, and the answer is as much unsatisfactory to those as the thought is infinite. And yet, the answer is as obvious as the truth of it is. Listen, my dear question-asker. The Negro has more to gain than any other individual under heaven. There is not a race, a nation, people or peoples of the world that shares the spirit of democracy as little as the Negro. Whatever part of democracy comes, little or much, is added to what he already has, makes him possessor of the more. It may not be expected that he will come into the full measures and benefits of the initial of that mooted name; its meaning is too indefinite in its application; too far-reaching in its definition; the leap would be too sudden, too drastic to be realized in its entirety. To be permanent it must be gradual. It took a hundred years to build Rome.

All races have come to their present state by gradation. The results are more permanent and lasting. We should be more concerned about whether we are able by contact, culture, wealth and behavior as a race to meet the above. Our boys in the camps and in the trenches "Over there," are regulating the very things named in a large measure. They are coming in possession of the very things that will match the things inherent with those races we must contact; will our women rise in equal equasion to these trained men, or will they have to, on return, contend with the same influence they left here? Will they be strong enough to pull those women up, or be pulled back by them into the squalor, ignorance, stupidity and moral degradation? It is serious to contemplate. Blessings

often come in disguise. We have never as a race looked for the adjustment of our peace to be purchased on other continental soil, fought for by the oppressor and oppressed side by side. They are both threatened by an alien enemy, and if the enemy triumphs, both will be made slaves, having no pre-eminence one over the other. In winning the struggle the oppressor must change his thought, feeling and administration towards the oppressed, and hence comes that democracy by sudden act like the emancipation in '65. Are we more prepared for world democracy than race democracy in '65? The Negro should go to his task joyfully and manfully, forgetting the past and press forward for the prize, for there is one as sure as heaven.

Colored Editors
Daily Herald
and Leaders in
Conference
6-1-18

Moulders of Public Sentiment Consider Methods by Which the Negro May Best Aid the Nation to Win the War

NOTABLE ADDRESSES BY OFFICIALS OF HIGH STATION

Free, Frank and Full Discussion of Many Vital Issues Affecting Colored Americans Characterize Representative Gathering-- Personnel of the Participants,

Washington, District of Columbia. By the authority and direction of the War Department and the Committee on Public Information, Emmett J. Scott, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, called to Washington June 19 for a conference, thirty or forty representatives of important colored newspapers of the country together with a number of the leaders of thought and opinion among the Negro people, to consider methods by

which the millions of colored people of the nation may best assist in the winning of the war.

Proceedings Marked By Dignity and Unity.

The conference formally opened Wednesday morning, June 19, in the main auditorium of the new building of the Department of the Interior, Fed and 18th streets northwest, at 10:30 o'clock, and continued throughout Thursday and Friday, June 20 and 21.

Mr. Scott presided at all of the sessions which were marked by an earnestness of purpose, a broad grasp of the questions at issue, and an unwavering loyalty to the flag of the nation, as well as by an intense devotion to the highest interests of the colored Americans for whom they primarily to speak.

The discussion covered a wide range and the conferees were given an opportunity to present their views, reflecting the state of mind of the colored people of the country, with the utmost freedom and frankness, unhampered by parliamentary restrictions or any effort to direct opinion in any particular channel—save that of utilizing in the most effective manner every resource at the command of the race to bring victory to the American arms in its present struggle for liberty and world-wide democracy.

Mr. Scott's admirably-tempered addresses at various stages of the deliberations repeatedly admonished the conference to voice their sentiments fully and fearlessly, laying all grievances and suggestions for their redress upon the common altar, with the view of strengthening where needed the patriotism and morale of the Negro people. So fair and impartial were the rulings of the chair upon every point raised or principle enunciated, that at no time was a single exception taken to them. Every conceivable shade of individual opinion was represented in the body, but there was from the outset a firm disposition to subordinate private and

personal considerations to the general good, without regard to politics, creed, faction or section. This lofty aim was adhered to most religiously. Dignity of statement, harmony of thought and unity of action were the predominating features of the three day's session. The document, report of the conference as to the best plans for the mobilization of the resources of the 12,000,000 Negroes of the Republic in support of the War aims of the government, was adopted by a unanimous vote, given heartily and enthusiastically. "America was sung with fervor and unction as final adjournment was taken.

SOUTH CAROLINA
RACE CONFERENCE
GREAT SUCCESS
The Daily Herald
March 19, 1918
Government Manning
Addresses Tremendous Audience

Columbia, S. C., Feb. 16.—With fully 2,000 persons present, the Negro race conference opened Tuesday, the 13th. Music was furnished by the 371st Infantry Band, led by Captain E. Williams.

The Rev. Richard Carroll, president of the race conference, opened the session, and introduced the master of ceremonies, Dr. J. H. Dilliard.

F. H. McMaster was introduced and spoke on "How to Win the War by Buying Thrift Stamps."

He showed the necessity of purchasing Thrift Stamps, and told how these stamps can be held until 1923, bringing 4 per cent. interest or by converting it or them into war saving stamps. The money, with 7 per cent. interest, is payable before that time. By putting our money

into bonds and Thrift Stamps we are helping our country to win the war.

His address was well timed and instructive.

At 12:30 Governor Richard I. Manning arrived and addressed the crowd of at least 2,500 people. As he entered the 271st Infantry Band, led by Captain E. Williams, played the national anthem, "The Star-Spangled Banner," while the entire congregation stood.

Dr. J. H. Dilliard introduced Dr. C. C. Brown, who, in a most fitting manner, introduced Governor Manning. The Governor said in the beginning that he was speaking under difficulties, because his attitude toward the colored people had been misunderstood, but that his feelings are most kindly, and that both races are here to stay, and each race is affected by the actions of the other; therefore, white people must consider all the citizens, both white and black. He spoke of the exemplary conduct of the colored soldiers, and of the hearty cooperation of the colored people on Red Cross, food conservation and all lines to help win the war. He stressed the recent bills passed by the state legislature, the reformatory bill, making the Negro reformatory a school that reforms instead of being a prison. He also touched on the institute for the feeble-minded of both races.

He expressed his disapproval of lynchings in South Carolina, and stated that he has used every available power to prevent lynching, and will continue. He advised that our homes be improved and made more comfortable; compared Germany's resources with our own, and showed that we must mobilize our resources and make them available for our use.

We are going to win, he said, because our aims, having been properly interpreted by our President Woodrow Wilson, and accepted by the world. Right against might

Amidst great applause and cheers the Governor closed his excellent address.

COLORED PEOPLE GIVE LOVING CUP TO MOORFIELD STOREY

BOSTON MASS DAILY NEWS
FEBRUARY 15, 1918

Hailed by 50,000 Subscribers as Friend and Defender at Faneuil Hall Meeting



SILVER LOVING CUP GIVEN TO MOORFIELD STOREY LAST NIGHT BY REPRESENTATIVES OF 50,000 COLORED PEOPLE OF NEW ENGLAND IN FANEUIL HALL.

Declaration that the 13 negro soldiers recently executed for participation in the outbreak in a military camp at Houston, Tex., "paid the penalty for vindicating their self-respect" was wildly applauded last evening by an audience of colored people that crowded Faneuil Hall to honor Moorfield Storey as a friend and defender of their race.

The statement was made by Rev. Walter D. McClane in an address eulogistic of the services of Mr. Storey at a meeting under the auspices of the Boston Literary and Historical Association to celebrate the 101st anniversary of the birth of the late Frederick Douglass. A large silver loving cup was given to Storey on behalf of 50,000 colored men and women of New England who subscribed for it. After accepting it, Mr. Storey indorsed a previous suggestion that the 12,000 colored people of the United States join together for united protest in case of lynchings in future.



MOORFIELD STOREY.

Hailed Last Night in Faneuil Hall as Friend and Defender of Colored People.

Mr. Storey declared that whenever the colored people of the Nation became united lynching will stop.

Gov. McCall, in a letter which was read by Emery T. Morris, highly praised Mr. Storey for his devotion to the principle of equal rights for all men, and a letter from Wallace A. Battle, head of the Okoloma, Miss., Industrial School, suggested that the time is coming when colored Americans will annually celebrate the birthday of Moorfield Storey, "the greatest living American."

There was a tremendous outburst of applause when Mr. McClane, in reviewing the progress of colored Americans in the direction of higher civilization, exclaimed: "I challenge anyone to cite a case of a colored soldier ever having been shot for treason or for cowardice."

Other speakers who paid tribute to Mr. Storey's readiness at all times to battle for the rights of the common man were Lieut. Gov. Calvin Coolidge, Mayor Peters and Rev. T. A. Auten.

George R. Margetson recited a poem eulogistic of Mr. Storey, vocal solos were finely rendered by Harry Delmore and Mme. Nannie Flowers, with Mrs. Jessie E. Shaw as accompanist, and after W. Monroe Trotter had read the names of the subscribers to the loving cup, Iris Shaw, a little girl, made the presentation to Mr. Storey. Benediction was pronounced by Rev. Benjamin W. Swain.

FOR RACE GOOD.

The call to Washington last week of leaders of the race and newspaper men by the war department will have a wholesome effect on the race in general. Some may doubt the wisdom of these special gatherings of race men, thinking of them as begotten of an undemocratic idea. And we must admit that they do not wholly square with the democratic idea, but we must also admit that they are the beverage to foist us up to the plane of democracy, and which can not come about of itself. It is impossible to reason away the race question, and a seemingly hard condition when we are doing and dying for the great cause as other men.

The race question is a national asset, and of questionable value. In fact it is positively of no value to the reputed national spirit and by which our country is known and rated throughout the world. When the foreigner thinks of America he thinks of a haven for persecuted men—that's our country's reputation as known overseas. And we are often chagrined at this wholesome wholesale view, viewing our race as the exception to the rule of things making for that spirit which has ever abided in man—seeing one man as another, one nation as another in the great essentials of citizenship, of life.

It is useless to charge our country with indifference as it concerns the Negroes. We have a condition bequeathed to us which no living man of this day is responsible. We think it cruel that the white race will not righten their attitude when it is such an apparently easy thing to do. We often doubt the boasted humanity and Christianity of such a perverse people in our conclusion. But we may as well come to it, to the fact that prejudice is ingrained, and as certain as a thing of blood. It will not be overcome by violent assault. It must be bred out of the bone, and as it were bred in and by methods now being employed and by others yet to be discovered.

The white man is as helpless as our race in bringing about a sudden revolution of feeling. It is easier to charge the Hun from his most formidable position than to dislodge prejudice. The white man is helpless for the moment but he must be relied on to help in the matter and because he knows that to some extent his own salvation is involved.

It has taken this great war to most demonstrably prove that the white man must get busy and he got busy, helping in careful ways to erect the Negro to his place as a citizen of the country and not merely a denizen. The call of Negro men to camps for officers was a splendid move in the right direction. For as these were lifted up so was the race lifted up. A few shortsighted among us saw that splendid move as another race affliction, holding that it was merely a species of segregation supported by those in high authority. The separate camps gave opportunity to thousands and in new walks of life. Efficiency in new walks of life means inroads on prejudice when the war is over. The separate camps have been the Negroes opportunity. This has no reference to that visionary what might be, but to what is. A condition confronts us and no theory. Those camps are vast industrial centers as well as military schools. The good by way of efficiency of the thousands will be felt throughout the land, having the tendency to reduce prejudice to the minimum because of the demonstrated higher usefulness of race men not to speak of that good that will redound owing to an honorable and heroic part taken in the great war.

The gathering at Washington, of editors, of leading race men was but a furtherance of the grand scheme of erecting the race to a plane of white men. White men, we say again, saw the necessity, but were helpless when it came to reading the race in the general nation at once on equal terms. They have no power to speak things into existence but they can help give things the proper trend, leaving it the adjusting years to bring about the best possible results.

The race can ask no more than this, that by some method it is let in on everything doing in the country.

Those in authority can do this, and as they have come so near doing, thus teaching the remaining white people of governmental intents and principles by precept and example. And in the meanwhile the Negroes will appreciate in the eyes of the white race and will observe with pleasure the increasing estimation of themselves. WHAT AMERICA'S EBONY-HUED SON DOES NOT WANT AND WHAT HE WANTS

By William H. Ferris, A.M.

I read with intense interest Prof. John R. Hawkins' fourteen specific articles as a basis for racial democracy in answer to the question "What Does the Negro Want?" I have never seen a more masterly statement of the colored man's case. The enclosed article was originally written as the concluding chapter of the smaller third volume of "The African Abroad," which I hope to publish in the near future.

But since the war ended sooner than expected and since the colored man's status is a live topic of discussion I thought it advisable to strike while the iron is hot.

Elinor Glyn contributed an interesting article to the September Cosmopolitan, under the title "When Our Men Come Home." There were two sentences in that article which are pregnant with mighty consequences. She says "War is a powerful stimulant to all male qualities. The returning soldier is not likely to be a meek creature in any country."

Mr. George W. Harris, the editor of the New York News, was thinking similar thoughts regarding the colored soldier. He said in an editorial on August 3, "When the war is won and the veterans of the Stars and Stripes have had their last bivouac 'over there,' when they have marched past the President in final review down Pennsylvania Avenue; which they have returned—such of them as are left to their humble homes—to greet such of their families and friends as are left, to take up again their humble places as hewers of wood and drawers of water in American industry, they will submit to lynching, disfranchisement, jim crow cars and segregation no longer as their just portion."

Yes, both Elinor Glyn and the editor of the New York News are right. The war is a stimulant. In a few months the soldier will return home. The United States has gone into the war with the machine gun and the airplane; who has heard shells bursting around them; who has faced death; the charge of the Germans and who has helped to bring the proud Teuton to his knees, will feel inclined to walk up to the lawmakers and moulders of public opinion in America and say, like the Prodigal Son of old, "Father, I want my portion of my inheritance!"

Those men will be satisfied with everything doing in the country.

Eugene Debs Writes

Louisville News 6-15-18.
About The Negro

His Present Status and Outlook—The Great Socialist is Fair and Square.

(Eugene V. Debs in N. Y. Outlook.)

The leading article in the Intercollegiate Socialist for December-January, 1917-18, on, "The Problem of Problems," by Prof. W. E. B. Du Bois, dealing with the Negro question in the United States, deserves wide reading. It presents the Negro question to the American people from the standpoint of commanding importance which the nation can no longer ignore or palter with save at its own peril.

In speaking for the Negro Dr. Du Bois stands squarely upon the Negro's rights as a human being, which rights have been shamefully outraged from the day the first African natives, stolen by pirates from their native land, set foot upon American soil and were sold into slavery by their cruel captors.

The whole history of the American slave trade and of African slavery in the United States, clear down to the present day, is black with infamy and crime against the Negro, which the white race can never atone for in time nor eternity. Most of this revolting history has never been written, and little of what has been written has been allowed to reach the people. Not one person in a thousand knows the facts about the stealing of the Negroes by the pirates that supplied the American colonies with their black slaves; about how men, women and children were driven aboard the pirate ships, corralled like beasts, in filth, half starved, naked, their backs scarred and bleeding from the cruel stroke of the keeper's lash, and half or two-thirds or even more of them dying from torture on the voyage and their dead bodies cast into the sea as so many dead dogs.

This was the beginning of the monstrous crime against the African Negro by the white settlers of the American colonies—the crime that lay at the foundation of the infinitely greater crime of chattel slavery which grew

out of it, and which had to be expiated by rivers of blood drawn by the sword from white men's veins—the crime of three centuries without a parallel in history.

But only a minor part of this crime of crimes committed against a race has ever been atoned for, complete restitution for which can never be made.

Never do I see a Negro but my heart goes out to him, and I feel like apologizing abjectly to my black brother for the crime and outrages perpetrated upon his race by the race to which I belong. I look into his starved, brutalized features, his dumb despair, and I read the tragic story of his foul betrayal and shameless spoliation of body and soul, traced there by the hand of the Almighty as the ghastly indictment of the white man for his unspeakable cruelty toward his black brother.

But I am not to deal with the past in this writing, save only as a background for the present status and the future prospect of the twelve million Negroes now in the United States. Prof. Du Bois has made an initial contribution of this great question which our American people, and he insists that they shall face it and deal with it as an enlightened nation should deal with a national problem which has become so grave as to menace its very existence.

Prof. Du Bois speaks out with becoming courage and candor. There is none of the apologetic spirit of Booker Washington in his attitude. He is admirably conscious of the rectitude of his purpose and the righteousness of his cause, and every word in his stirring appeal in behalf of the Negro's merits hearty approval and appreciation.

Dr. Du Bois has just cause to find fault with all the various schemes for ending the great war and bringing lasting democratic peace to the world, which schemes have nothing whatever to offer to the Negroes and other races despoiled and held in subjection by the white race. Says Mr. Du Bois:

"In the peace proposals that are now being made continually, the future of the natives of Africa, the future of the disfranchised Indians of the Eastern and Western Hemisphere, and the disfranchised element of the Negroes of the United States has not only no important part, but practically no thought. What you are asking for is a peace among white folk with the inevitable result that they will have more leisure and inclination to continue their despoiling of the yellow, red, brown and black folk."

Quite right! There is thought for the Belgians, the French, the Italians, the French, the Italians, and even the Germans, but none for the twelve million American Negroes who are nominally citizens of the republic, yet most have been stripped of their franchise by the rape of their constitutional guarantees and who, in the general reckoning of those who prate about war for humanity and democratic peace, are to remain "damned niggers," or at best, "niggers merely, on a dead level with other beasts of burden."

Freedom of speech is another phase of the question which takes little head of the rights of Negroes to the treatment due to human beings, to say nothing of free men, as Professor Du Bois so pointedly and pertinently says:

"You are taking up the problem of the freedom of speech. Many of you are vastly upset by the increasing difficulty which you have in discussing the war in America; but I should be much more impressed by your indignation if I did not realize that the greatest lack in freedom of discussion of American problems comes not in problems you are not allowed to discuss, but rather in those which you are free to discuss but afraid of. I know, and you know, that the conspiracy of silence that surrounds the Negro problem in the United States arises because you do not dare, you are without the moral courage to discuss it frankly, and when I say you I refer not merely to the conservative reactionary elements of the nation, but rather to the very elements represented in a conference like this, supposed to be forward-looking and radical."

These words are as true as they are courageous and commendable. Even among Socialists the Negro question is treated with a timidity bordering on cowardice, which contrasts painfully with the principles of freedom and equality proclaimed as cardinal in their movement.

There is but one way for Socialists to deal with the Negro, and that is to regard him as a human being, the equal in point of rights and opportunities of every other human being on earth. If he is less cultured it is because he has been robbed and despoiled by the more cultured, and this instead of militating against him but accentuates his claim to decent consideration.

The Negro asks no favors; he seeks no privileges; he spurns the white man's supercilious airs and patronizing cant. As a matter of fact he owes the white man little but his contempt. The very crimes he commits spring from the seed sown in his brain and heart centuries ago by the white thief who stole him from his native land, lashed him as if he had been a beast, exploited him to the marrow of his bones, and did all in his power to sink him to the level of a brute.

All the Negro requires is that he be recognized as a human being and treated as a man. This is absolutely all. Nothing less will and nothing less should satisfy him; and nothing less will ever solve the problem and remove this growing menace to the nation.

The Socialist, who will not speak out fearlessly for the Negro's right to work and live, to develop his manhood, educate his children, and fulfil his destiny on terms of equality with the white man misconceives the movement he pretends to serve or lacks the courage to live up to its principles.

The Negro is "backward" because he never had a chance to be forward. He has been captured, overpowered, put in chains, plundered, brutalized and perverted to the last degree. That kindness, just as eager to prove himself a man possessed of character and environment, opportunity, incentive, honor, if but given the chance. Some 25 years ago I was on an organizing trip in Kentucky. At Louisville I appealed to the white railroad men to admit the Negro shop and he will take care of the rest, and when final accounts are cast up he will have no reason to blush when track laborers to their union. They refused. A few days later the white men struck. The Negroes, though insulted and repelled by the union, came out to a man. The white men fearing the strikers might be lost, rushed back to their jobs and defeated the strike. The Negroes stayed out and lost their democracy and freedom is a vulgar sham and false pretense.

The Negro is entitled to exactly the same economic, political, social and moral rights that the white man has, and until these are fully recognized and freely accorded all our talk about democracy and freedom is a vulgar

The Negro is my brother. The color of his skin is no more to me than the color of his hair or eyes. He is as human and that is enough. I refuse any advantage over him and I spurn that they are fit only for menial service, such as blacking white men's boots, emptying their cuspidors, and

ment if it is to win the Negro to its standard and prove itself worthy of his confidence and support.

Prof. Du Bois touches briefly upon the summary execution of the Negro soldiers of the 24th Infantry at Houston, and the infamous massacre of the black innocents at East St. Louis, the former to placate the anti-Negro sentiment of the South and the latter to glut the savage lust of corporate greed and incidentally to put a foul blot upon the American labor movement.

The cowardly attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the Negro during the last 25 years explains in a large measure the barbarous massacre at East St. Louis.

Only within a few months has the American labor movement opened reluctantly enough a back door through which the Negro may now meekly enter and take a back seat, and even this door had to be forced by the stern logic of events of which the appalling tragedy at East St. Louis is a chapter written in the blood of Negro women and children slain by their murderers and white neighbors. Had the labor unions freely opened their doors to the Negro instead of barring him out and, in alliance with the master class, conspiring to make a pariah of him and forcing him, in spite of himself, to become a scab and strike-breaker, the atrocious crime at East St. Louis would never have blackened the pages of American history.

The Negro is just as responsive as the white man to decent treatment; just as susceptible to the touch of kindness, just as eager to prove himself a man possessed of character and environment, opportunity, incentive, honor, if but given the chance.

Some 25 years ago I was on an organizing trip in Kentucky. At Louisville I appealed to the white railroad men to admit the Negro shop and he will take care of the rest, and when final accounts are cast up he will have no reason to blush when track laborers to their union. They refused. A few days later the white men struck. The Negroes, though insulted and repelled by the union, came out to a man. The white men fearing the strikers might be lost, rushed back to their jobs and defeated the strike. The Negroes stayed out and lost their democracy and freedom is a vulgar

This proves conclusively, without a doubt, that Negroes are a degenerate race; that they lack character and are depraved; that they ought to pay first class fare and ride in cattle cars; that they are fit only for menial service, such as blacking white men's boots, emptying their cuspidors, and

waiting on them as lackeys; that there should be rejoicing in the community when one of them is lynched or burnt at the stake, even if innocent, and that the vilest creature in a white skin is still immeasurably the superior of an enlightened, cultured and self-respecting Negro.

In closing let me say to these black brethren of ours that their salvation, after all, lies within themselves. The overwhelming majority of them are working people, and they represent more than one-tenth of our entire population. They need to get together, to stand together, and assert their united power industrially and politically in behalf of their class. Like the white wage-slaves they need the light, the light of education; they require power, the power of knowledge, and this light they must generate, and this power they must develop within themselves. They will progress and command respect in proportion as they are enlightened and organized, and have unity of purpose and the power to enforce their demands. Then, and then only, will they take their rightful place in society and have equal voice with all others in the control of the nation and in realizing the goals of civilized humanity.

PENNYPACKER'S TRIP IN SOUTH

Governor Dedicated Monuments
in Memory of Pennsylvania's

Fallen Heroes
P. PENNYPACKER
PENNYPACKER AUTOBIOGRAPHY—NO. 76
(Copyright, 1918, by Public Ledger Company)

IN Savannah the lazy darkies, the magnolias, the moss hanging over the trees, the suavity of the man who meets you, are all very attractive. We arrived at 7:30 a. m. and hastened to the De Soto Hotel, where we were welcomed in a speech by Mayor Myers, to which I responded. Then we were taken in automobiles through the country to Bethesda, an orphan school for boys founded by George Whitfield and still flourishing. There I stood on the steps of the building and addressed the boys. Afterward we were taken to Bannon Lodge, where the Mayor gave us a luncheon, and then we returned to Savannah, having made a round of about twenty miles.

The Negro Question

I ventured an interview on the negro question, which was published and kindly received:

The solution of that question is to treat the negro kindly. Give him a chance to work. The rest will come along. Development will come soonest and best from the exercise of such faculties as he has. The negro ought to be

at work. It is a mistake for him to try to grow too fast. All substantial growth is slow. The southern people can best solve the question here where conditions are fixed. The old Romans thought that there were no noble men but Romans, and yet the Germans poured in upon them and taught them a far different lesson. Modern Italy is the outcome. So is France. You people have to take what there is about you and make the best of it. Greece did not kill the helots. She accepted them. That hardy race of tillers of the soil, known as villains in England, are today the backbone of that country—the English people itself.

From Savannah, through a country apparently not very thrifty, we went to Atlanta, an enterprising modern city exemplifying the new life of the South. There Governor Joseph M. Terrell and Mrs. Terrell gave us a reception at the executive mansion. A young lady about nineteen came up to be presented and the Governor, introducing her, said:

"This is the most beautiful young lady in Atlanta, and I want you to kiss her." Southern hospitality grated a little on northern phlegm. The girl stood blushing before me. I said to her, "That is not the first time I have known a man to try to give away what does not belong to him." I did not kiss her. Possibly it was a mistake.

At Atlanta I met the State Treasurer and this colloquy occurred:

I—"What is the length of Georgia?"
He—"About four hundred miles."
I—"A hundred miles longer than Pennsylvania. What is the breadth of Georgia?"
He—"About three hundred miles."
I—"A hundred miles broader than Pennsylvania. What are your revenues?"
He—"About a million dollars, but it takes a good deal of that to pay the interest on the debt. What are the revenues of Pennsylvania?"
I—"About \$25,000,000 a year."
He—"What is your debt?"
I—"We have none."
He—"Great Gawd! Twenty-five million dollars of revenue and no debt!"

At Andersonville

At Americus, the nearest point to Andersonville upon the railroad and about twelve miles distant, a crowd gathered in the town hall and a young lawyer named Robert E. Lee made an address of welcome, to which I replied. He had committed his speech to memory and was very much embarrassed, but it was couched in the best of tone and great kindness.

At Andersonville were six hundred Pennsylvania soldiers who had been imprisoned there during the war and who had been sent there by the State forty years afterward to take a last look at the place. It was a solemn occasion and the memories were all painful. In presenting the impressive memorial to the United States I said:

Six hundred survivors of the war, which ended forty years ago, the commander-in-chief of the National Guard of Pennsylvania and his military staff, the major-general commanding that Guard and his three brigadier generals, have come a distance of 1000 miles to dedicate a memorial. What is its significance? "What mean ye by these stones?" It

is true of nations, as it is of men, that they may rise on stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things. But the pathway is ever attended by indescribable sufferings. During the Revolutionary War the Continental Army won but two great battles and yet that war ended in success. Its spirit was typified not by the victories at Saratoga and Yorktown, but by the sufferings at Valley Forge. The Dutch struggle for independence had but few victories, but it lasted eighty years, and the power of Spain, then the mightiest of nations, was broken. Christianity, the most important influence in the development of man in the history of the world, is exemplified not by knights in armor and chariots, but by Him who was nailed to the cross. Who regenerated the sons of men, wearing not a helmet but a crown of thorns. When the early impressions of the war have in time become less vivid a calm judgment will show that the valor of the soldiers on the field of Gettysburg was a no more potent factor than the endurance best exhibited in the prison pens of Andersonville. The men who perished here have not died in vain. Through their deaths the Government has taken on a new life and even Georgia has grown mightier than ever before because of what they did and suffered.

In behalf of the Commonwealth I accept this monument, reflecting credit as it does upon the commission in charge of its erection because of its magnificent proportions and artistic effects, and I present it to you, sir, as the representative of the National Government, with a full faith that here it will stand for all time to come as a testimonial to the suffering and valor of those soldiers who lost their lives that the country might survive.

General E. A. Carman, of the United States army, accepted the memorial.

THE TWO RACES IN THE SOUTH

In view of the fact that the interest of one race is the interest of the other in the South, it has always been strange to The Independent that one race so far forgets the other, that it antagonizes the peace and interest of the other. That the interest and welfare of the two races are mutual and closely interwoven is so plain that it amounts to almost a self-evident truth; it is so plain that he who runs may read. And yet there is constant friction and ill-will between them.

Fifty years after emancipation, almost two generations after the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation by President Lincoln, there is still bitterness and strong race feeling. Like Banquo's ghost, it does not down.

Sometimes the embers seem to be smoldering, but they are soon fanned into a blaze again. When you think that old things has passed away and new things have taken their places, you are reminded by some occurrence here and there that the old feeling of hate and distrust is still alive.

It matters not that during these two generations that the Negro has reduced his illiteracy from 100 to 30 per cent., and has accumulated much wealth and property, and pays more

than a billion dollars on taxable prop-

erty—it matters not that he covets the very best good will of his white neighbor, yet, somehow, there is race bitterness and antagonism despite the fact that they have a common interest, and both are indispensable in the building up of this Southern section.

The Negro has been the laboring element of the South for generations, and there is no class of labor so well fitted to develop the South and make it rich as the Negro, and no people go before him in their love for their native land. In spite of humiliation and discrimination, like a patient camel, he has borne his burden and carried his sorrows. He has had all kinds of inducements to seek other climes, yet he preferred to remain in his "native heath." This deserves more than a passing notice. Few people in such circumstances would have been so patient and long suffering. It might be argued, as it has been very often, that it was done because he felt that he was among his friends, and questioned whether he would not be making a mistake to go elsewhere. I the opinion of The Independent there were many reasons why the Negro has been so patient and long suffering: He has been brought up from generations with the Southern white man, and there are many ties of good will and friendship. There is no better friend in the world, individually, than the Southern white man. Nearly every white man in the South has a Negro favorite, by whom he will die. There have been thousands of instances of this kind; but while he feels this way by this individual colored man, who works and toils for him, he doesn't feel the same way towards the race as a whole. But as race, he believes that the Negro should occupy an inferior sphere in civil, political and industrial life to that of the white race, and so this makes the issue. In the meantime the Negro is developing along all lines—in education, in character, in wealth and aspiration—and he wants the same good things in life that any other race does. This constitutes the issue between them; the Negro does not want to throw obstacles in the way of his white neighbor, nor would he take one thing to which his white neighbor is justly entitled; but he does want the same chance that anybody else enjoys. He feels that he is a citizen and should enjoy the rights, privileges and immunities of a citizen—no more and no less. And as the days go by and he grows in wealth, character and intelligence, he will all the more demand

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enough to accord this to him? Will he, for the best interest of his own section and his posterity have the breadth of vision to give the black man, who has been brought up with him for generations—helped to build this section, rear his children, wept at the grave of the white man's father, mother and children—tell him he is willing for him to have a man's chance and open the door of hope and opportunity to him as he would anybody else? If so, there is no question as to the future. The South will come into its own and become the greatest and richest in all the world. The Negro has no malice and no ill-will towards the white man. He is willing to join with him in building up his native section—the South—and make it the richest and best country in all the world.

NEW YORK POST
JULY 25, 1918
Black and White.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST:

SIR: We were seated on Columbia Campus, in the sunset glow, a truly cosmopolitan crowd, students and residents of the neighborhood, many people from many lands, come together to listen to music, the "universal language."

Directly in front of me sat three fine looking women, evidently students. One of them looked very weary. Next her was an empty seat. Presently it was occupied by a fine looking Negro, also evidently a student. The young woman straightened up with a start, looked significantly at her companions, and then deliberately turned in her chair so that her back was toward the colored man. This deprived her of the support of the chair back, but so she sat until the end, except when we stood to sing. The man just glanced at her, then sat quietly, his eyes on the musicians, but his face settled into lines of sadness, and I wondered how much of the joy of the evening was gone for him.

The band had not played "The Star-Spangled Banner" at the beginning of the concert. After the third or fourth number Dr. Goldman announced that he had waited until we should all be there so that we could sing it "in honor of the France. All sing," he urged. "Sing it so that they can hear it 'over there.'"

When we rose, the young woman stepped deliberately in front of the colored man, and so standing sang the national hymn of this great democracy.

Above us shone out the first faint stars of evening, the kindly, impartial stars, the same stars that shine on our boys "over here"—and some of those boys are black.

B. W. S.

New York, July 20.

A couple of weeks ago we inquired as to the sanity of K. Lamity, writing in the Harpoon of Texas. Mr. K. Lamity—I don't see why he doesn't come right out and spell it O-a-l-a-m-i-t-y—seemed to be of the opinion that the Negro was not exactly a human being; that he has been since the creation nothing but a "conscienceless savage"; that the world from its beginning has been indebted to what we now know as the white man for everything pertaining to civilization.

We felt that Mr. K. Lamity ought to have, at least, the opportunity of learning better, so we pointed out to him that the Negro was the first to discover and practice the principles of religion, poetry, music, sculpture, and of the various handicrafts. We showed him how the torch of civilization has been passed from the hands of peoples to peoples, first to those around the edge of the Mediterranean, then on to those in Europe and then Northern Europe; how civilization has only within the last five hundred years come into the hands of the pure white people, and how they have at present made quite a mess of it.

We tried to impress on him that the Negro, as the pioneer, deserves as much credit as the peoples who afterwards carried civilization forward, just as the man who first thought out the bow and arrow deserves as much credit as the man who invented the seventy-mile gun. We also ventured to say to him that as all things in the universe move in a circle, the darker races may again become the custodians of civilization.

Of course, we did not expect that Mr. K. Lamity would learn anything from all this, because we put him down as an unredeemable heathen who will continue to rage.

Now comes the Rev. Arthur R. Gray, D. D., writing in The Churchman, the mouthpiece of the Episcopal Church, and setting forth that the United States is a white man's country, that the Negro can never really become an American citizen, that the solution of the whole problem is to colonize the Negro in Haiti.

The Rev. Mr. Gray is using arguments only a little less anti-quated than those used by Mr. K. Lamity. K. Lamity harks back to an age when the controversy over the Negro was as to whether or not he had a human soul; Gray harks back to an age when time was wasted in discussing exportation to Africa as a means of solving the problem. Long ago the Negro himself reduced the Kalamity theory to an absurdity; and long ago actual conditions showed the Gray theory to be impracticable and impossible.

Mr. Gray, after lamenting the "ever memorable blunder" of bringing the African to this country as a slave, opens his article as follows:

And so I would thrust under your nose this enigma for the purpose of awakening you to the crushing fact that there is a way which is blessedly free from theorizing and entirely concerned with facts. I say a partial solution for it only pretends to accomplish a certain amount of what has to be done; but as we have learned from our cradles half the job is in the starting.

To put it in prescription-like brevity this is the theme I have to develop: Haiti is the beginning to the solution of the Negro problem;

by concentrating on work in that island the Church can accomplish more for our brethren than in any other way.

We should ask if it is only from the habitual use of church phraseology that the Rev. Mr. Gray refers to the Negro as "our brethren?"

Our good brother then goes on to state that the problem is not the problem of the Black Man but of the White Man. In a word his explanation is that there is a problem not because the Black Man moves so slowly, but because the White Man moves so fast. This is a rather subtle distinction, but we let it pass. He then comes to the main point of his article, which is this:

The second point I want to make is that whatever efforts are put forth to solve this secondary problem, one must remember that the United States is a White Man's country. Japan is for the Japanese, China is for the Chinese, Africa is for Africans, and America is for the Anglo-Saxons. Our saying so doesn't make it so because God had the determination of this matter long before our vocables came into use. There is no use blinking and talking about the homes of the free, etc., for that is merely a drop back again into anointing facts with theories; into putting, let us say, chloroform liniment on a major fracture.

K. Lamity away down in benighted Texas might be excused for making God Almighty a part of the generally accepted "Southern plan of creation," but not so with an enlightened churchman.

It is strange how all of these people who have some plan concerning the Negro that is contrary to humanitarian and Christian principles always lug God in. It is also strange that they cannot see that the god to whom they refer is a mighty poor sort of a god in which to put any trust; for his plans are always going wrong, and it requires the constant vigilance and help of such weak mortals as K. Lamity

and the Rev. Mr. Gray to see that these "immutable plans" are carried out at all. K. Lamity talks in grandiose language about "the great gulf fixed between the races by God Almighty at the foundation of the world" and does so in face of the fact that, perhaps, more than half the colored people in this country have the blood of both races in their veins. The Rev. Mr. Gray talks authoritatively about God's determination of having "Japan for the Japanese, China for the Chinese, Africa for the Africans, and America for the Anglo-Saxons." The obvious omission in the Rev. gentleman's disclosure of the divine will is that he does not say what God intended for the American Indian.

But let us leave God out of the whole questionable business and ask, if the white people believe that China should be for the Chinese and Africa for the Africans, why don't they leave them so? Of course, they are leaving Japan for the Japanese, but no credit for that can be given to the God they talk about, the credit is due to the fact that the Japanese have learned how to kill men in the modern way, by firearms. It is safe to say that Africa will be left for the Africans when the natives learn the same trick.

Now, let us take up the central point in Mr. Gray's argument; namely, that the United States is a White Man's country, and that the Black Man has no right to any other rights here than those the White Man may see fit to mete out to him. In the first place, the land did not belong to either the White Man or the Black Man; if we go back to "God's plans," we should be compelled to admit that so far as we know the land belonged to the Indian. So whatever title the White Man has to the land is not based upon finding some-

How South Carolina Scenes Related on a New Jersey Visitor

To the Editor of Public Ledger:

Sir—As a visitor to this section of the South, and a stop-off of short while in this rambling old town of Camden, of revolutionary fame, in a State that in my boyhood days was called "the hotbed of secession," I was much interested in the letter to the PUBLIC LEDGER, of Benjamin Alvin Arnold. More so, perhaps, from the fact that a stroll taken yesterday afternoon through the business section of the town, watching the natives doing their Christmas shopping, tended to make Mr. Arnold's words more impressive. He says the blacks of South Carolina constitute over 52 per cent of the population. In the hour or more of my stroll it seemed to me there were in evidence 100 blacks to one white person. And as I gazed on the motley, happy-looking crowd, Northerner as I am, was forced home to me the conviction that if such a proportionate condition as that existed in my little home town of Moorestown, N. J., we should need for our social protection laws something of the "Jim Crow" nature in New Jersey; and I could not blame the white people of the South for the stand they take in this matter.

But another viewpoint and entirely political is unveiled on reading your correspondent's letter, and I entirely agree in the stand that he takes, and think he is justified in claiming that President Wilson cannot honestly ignore this burning question at home of an equal ballot for all, while pressing the "matter over there," that "no peace can last that does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Lincoln declared at Gettysburg that "our soldiers died in vain" if "a government of the people, by the people, for the people" was to perish from the earth.

DAVID ROBERTS
Camden, S. C., December 25, 1918.
ROCHESTER POST EXPRESS
MAY 1, 1918

At the recent meeting of the Southern Sociological congress at Birmingham, Alabama, a session was devoted to consideration of race relations. Dr. James Hardy Dillon, president of the Jeanes and Slater boards, presided and a frank discussion was participated in by leading men of white and colored races. The emigration of negroes to the North has had its effect. Thoughtful men of both races in the South are awake to necessity of race betterment for the negro as one of the South's greatest assets. The negro desires to remain in the South; the white men of the South need to have him remain. Both whites and blacks have certain demands to be fulfilled before contented stability is possible. And both are ready now to acknowledge that Booker T. Washington had the right remedy for the entire situation in education to practical usefulness of the negro and in admitting him to economic independence by the southern whites. All social problems would be worked out to mutual satisfaction by education and fair business treatment.

thing which no owner claimed, it is based upon force and robbery. Let us also admit that the Black Man helped the White Man to take the land from the Indian.

The White Man came over as a freeman and the Black Man as a slave, but they have been here practically the same length of time. The Black Man bases his title upon his help in the conquest of the land, and upon three hundred years of labor in which he has helped to develop its resources and one hundred and fifty years of loyalty in which he has helped to fight its battles. That constitutes a better title than can be rightfully claimed by a very large number of white men.

But whatever may be the theories of K. Lamity or A. Gray, the bald fact stands out that the Negro is in this country, and he is here twelve million strong. All the talk about getting rid of him by exportation or in other way is a waste of breath. The Negro is not going away for the simple reason that he does not want to. He intends to work out his salvation right here.

And suppose he was willing to go, say to Haiti, who has given the Rev. Mr. Gray or anybody else the right to dump twelve million colored Americans upon the Haitians? Let us suggest to Mr. Gray that he throw aside his doctrine of mere might making right and try and find a solution of this problem in common justice and Christian charity.

Mr. Gray's heart, however, is filled with some sort of sanctimonious sympathy for these poor black brethren who can never be at home in this land, and he says:

This at once suggests the serious handicap under which such schools as St. Paul's, Lawrenceville and St. Augustine's, Raleigh, and Hampton and Tuskegee labor. To what can they point their graduates beyond participation as guests in the progress and good things of America? How would Groton feel if it knew that none of its graduates could ever really be at home in the land? Every time this thought strikes me I want to go literally down on my knees and pray for noble leaders like Archdeacon Russell and Archdeacon Delaney and many another man of God who finds himself in their position.

We wonder if it has ever occurred to him what Archdeacon Russell and Archdeacon Delaney must sometime think of men like him

After the War—What?

Today, every loyal American man, woman and child alike, of every color and creed, in this great land of ours is bending every effort possible to help win the world war. To bring about a just and honorable peace, as well as a lasting peace, whereby the world will be made a decent and safe place in which to live and to once for all time sink into the remotest corner of the world's greatest enemy, autocracy. Since autocracy has for some time past, and is yet menacing the life of all nations to and is threatening to destroy the vitals there," and to give them the backing of democracy, it is as it should be that we are banded together in one accord to destroy this, the most pernicious of all demons.

That every man, woman and child should do his best, and do that every day, is a needless saying, for we not

we do our bit, and while we give our all, one question arises in our mind, and strive as we will to down it, it will not down, but seems to become more and more puzzling as the days pass on. We know what the conditions were before the war, we know what they are now, that the war is actually going on, but the question paramount is, After the war—what?

Before the war the Negro in America although tried and always found to be one hundred per cent American, always loyal to his country and his country's cause, and to his country's flag, and although a native born American, with no hyphen to distinguish him from other Americans, was crushed to the wall to make room for any stranger that came to our land. Many of these strangers were willing enough to be called Americans until the break with an European nation came, then they sneaked off, like rats on a stormy winter's afternoon. But the Negro prayed, sacrificed, and withstood all, and when war was declared was not content until he had himself gotten into the fray and had gone in search of that seven-headed beast (the kingdom ruled by the kaiser and his six sons) and he has given his word that he will not return until he has been found and conquered, and today on the shell-torn hills of France he still goes in quest of the object of his search.

Many strangers in the form of hyphenated Americans, not only evaded our country's call, but tried, are trying, and will continue to try to betray our country into the hands of the enemy, but the American Negro clings to his country and flag, seeming to silently say: "Though you slay me, yet will I trust you," and today we feel proud to be members of a race in which there are no traitors, and although we have felt many times that America has forsaken us, we have never, and will never forsake her, for our allegiance to her is as firm as a rock, and no amount of deceitful propaganda can ever cause us to desert her.

When the eastern and the western fronts have met, and the allied nations can stand upon the head of what was once the body of "autocracy" and dictate the world's peace terms, in that peace council where democracy will send out blessings to the world for having purified herself that she, Democracy, might live unstained and unafraid, will the Negro be permitted to lift his voice and to raise his head and to breathe as he has never breathed before, a breath of the air of freedom?

When our country, torn as it is by our interest in this war, is more the home of all loyal and peace-loving Americans, when the sword is beaten into plowshares and the soun in the mortar is no more to be heard in liberty-loving France, and when Belgians can return to their homes in peace, will the Negro in America, with all his loyalty and devotion, continue to be pressed to the wall, to make room for the foreign-born stranger?

Will the avenues now open to the

Negro because of the war be closed to him, and open once more to the alien, because of the color of his skin? If no other lesson has been taught in this titanic struggle, it has most certainly shown that a man's love for his country is not to be judged by the color of his skin, but by his loyalty and devotion to his country, and to his country's cause. If a man's skin be spotlessly white, and he is disloyal, and at heart a traitor, he is of no good whatever to his country, or to his country's cause.

Will the Negro in America be expected to continue to take the refuse for his share, and will he continue to accept his share, such refuse as no other man will accept for his share? Or will he make himself a contender for whatever rights he is due, as other men?

Will he be refused admission to the labor unions and then told that he cannot work because he is not a union man?

Will he be refused a chance to properly care for his family and then censured for his failure to do so?

Will he be denied the full right as accorded all other Americans?

Will he still be required to pay for first class accommodations on railroad trains, and receive accommodations which do not favorably compare with third class?

Must he still pay the same rate of taxation as other men in America and not be given the right to vote?

Must he still be "jim-crowed," disfranchised and discriminated against?

Must we still serve as the object of wrath for mobs and lynching parties, with slight or no provocation, and if after years of weary toil we have accumulated a little property and have a home, in which we hope to enjoy a few pleasant hours in our old age, be driven away to suit the whims of some would-be lyncher?

We can but hope that the years of privation, suffering and waiting, together with our loyalty, and our sincere devotion to America, and to her cause, will win for us the esteem which has heretofore been only a dream and not a reality. That we will not be regarded as American Negroes but as Americans, and in being Americans be accorded every privilege accorded any other American, more especially the privileges of protection, equal justice before the law, to work at any trade, occupation or industry where capability is proven on the part of the individual, and the privilege of showing to the world that we are a race of men and not a race of weaklings, as some

To be able to contend for the rights that are justly ours as men and women there is one thing of which we stand in need; that one thing is nothing other than preparedness along the line which we wish to become employed. To the many of us who are totally unprepared it is well that we prepare now, for it will be found very difficult, if not impossible, thing to do to build a house and live in it at the same time. It is better to build

now and then we can live in it when the time comes.

As we toil, as we watch, as we hope and pray, let's make use of each spare hour, and if we can't find time to prepare otherwise, let's burn a little midnight oil. The result will most certainly be worthy of trial, and there can be nothing lost, and nothing to regret in doing so, but it will help us reach the longed-for goal. Preparedness will be necessary for our success after the war.

E. F. JESSIE,

1515 East Houston St., San Antonio, Texas.

NASHVILLE TENN BANNER
APRIL 1, 1918

NEGRO'S CONTRIBUTION IN RACE ADJUSTMENT

In his lecture yesterday afternoon at Fisk university, which was the sixth in the seven arranged for Fisk university on the general topic of "Race Adjustment in the United States." Dr. George E. Haynes, the professor of social science at Fisk university, educational secretary of the national league on urban conditions among Negroes, designated as "Seven Angels of Peace," the various ways in which he said the Negroes can contribute to race adjustment in this country. He said that the Negro's presence in America has greatly changed the American life, and that the race adjustments which the races make in America will help race adjustments all over the world. He said "Negroes and Caucasians over America have probably the greatest opportunity of any people on earth today to demonstrate that race adjustments can be made on the basis of brotherhood instead of on the basis of brutal force."

Dr. Haynes emphasized the loyalty of the colored people, saying: "In this matter of loyalty to all persons and causes with which he has been allied, I believe that the Negro has demonstrated that he has a contribution to make which is unique." He cited the case of the slaves, who remained and cared for the women and children of their masters and loyalty performed every duty assigned to their hands while the masters were fighting to make that bondage more secure.

"The Negro has shown the same spirit of loyalty toward his country and his flag," in the wars of the early colonists against the Indians, the war against Great Britain for American independence, in the civil war, in Cuba, in the Philippines and in Mexico the Negro did his part right loyally," said Dr. Haynes.

In closing the speaker made an earnest "appeal to the strong white race for a full, free chance for the Negro to make his full contribution." "What he has done so far has been under the heaviest of handicaps," said the speaker. "I plead that the doors of economic and educational opportunities now ajar be thrown wide open to him that he may pour out these latent gifts he possesses."

The next and last of the series at Fisk will be delivered by Isaac Fisher at Fisk Memorial chapel next Sunday at 4:30 p. m.

Race Problem - 1918 United States.



E. K.
MEANS

THE STRANGE CASE OF DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS.

The Richmond Planet
The New York Crisis for September contains a statement in its editorial columns relative to the tender of a captaincy to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois by the military authorities. While he does not sign it, the presumption is that the information given comes direct from this distinguished man of letters. We have carefully noted all that is said and we deduce the following facts therefrom:

Dr. DuBois was offered a position that had not at that time been created. Dr. DuBois tentatively ac-

cepted a position that did not exist upon the condition that he would not be financially inconvenienced and that he would not be required to make a financial sacrifice in so doing, thereby driving a shrewd bargain. Dr. DuBois was advised to accept the position upon the advice of the President of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and by Dr. H. C. Bishop, Bishop John Hurst, Dr. C. E. Bentley, Col. Charles Young, Rev. G. R. Waller, Hon. Charles Nagel and Dr. V. Morton-Jones.

Archibald H. Grimke, Esq. asked more time to consider the matter before giving his approval to this

line of action. In the meantime, as Dr. DuBois expresses it, at a meeting of the Board of Directors, "doubt was expressed as to the advisability of his continuing in charge of The Crisis." It was expected that the creation of this department would be in the nature of a far-reaching constructive effort to satisfy the pressing grievance of colored Americans.

Instead rumors were circulated charging the Government with attempted bribery and Dr. DuBois with being a traitor. It was seen that the very purpose of the organization of this Department would be defeated and accordingly the plan was abandoned and Major Joel E. Spingarn, the alleged patron and originator of the plan ordered to France.

But it may be well to quote Dr. DuBois in this discussion:

"A plan of far-reaching constructive effort to satisfy the pressing grievances of colored Americans has been under serious consideration by the military authorities at Washington for two months. On June 15, Dr. DuBois was called in and asked if he would accept a captaincy in a bureau of the General Staff, if one was established, for the above purposes.

"Dr. DuBois replied that he would, provided he could retain general oversight of The Crisis, and provided that his captain's salary (which was \$1,000 less than his present salary) could be supplemented from The Crisis income, so that he would suffer no financial loss. The military authorities saw no objection to these conditions.

"Dr. DuBois then consulted the President of the Board of Directors of the N. A. A. C. P., the chairman and the acting chairman of the Board and several members, including Dr. H. C. Bishop, Bishop Hurst, Dr. Bentley, Mr. A. H. Grimke, Colonel Charles Young, Rev. G. R. Waller, Hon. Charles Nagel and Dr. V. Morton-Jones. All of them, except Mr. Grimke, agreed with the conditions and urged acceptance. Mr. Grimke expressed deep sympathy, but asked more time for consideration."

This we regard as chapter one. It will be noted that the purpose of this movement was to satisfy the pressing grievances of the colored people. It seems to savor strongly of the persuasive diplomacy of our great and good friend, Hon. Emmett J. Scott, and admittedly, it was the idea of our well-wishing white friend, Major Joel E. Spingarn, who evidently values the shoulder-straps of a Major in the United States Army to an elevation to the position of

United States Senator from his own commonwealth.

The unfortunate part of this disclosure is the bargaining arrangement of one thousand dollars in the salary account, the aforesaid amount to come out of the salary account of the New York Crisis. This would have resulted in the net saving of much money in the treasury of this influential publication.

Chapter two begins with the following:

"No decision, however, as to establishing the Bureau was arrived at and when the regular July meeting of the Board took place, the priority of the government's claim on Dr. DuBois was recognized, but doubt was expressed as to the advisability of his continuing in charge of The Crisis."

The action of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People upset the arrangement. By refusing to continue him as editor of The Crisis, while he was patriotically serving the United States Government in particular and his people in general, one thousand dollars in salary allowance "went a glimmering" and the plans of the gentlemen cited disappeared in thin air.

From what source could the one thousand dollars in salary be secured? The authorities of the War Department had no funds from which they could legally supplement this amount.

It developed, too, that this Department and this position was evidently to be created for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and for no one else. He was the man wanted and no one else. As controlling the editorial opinion of the leading publication of colored people in this country, the War Department and the Administration would have in its hands a weapon of inconceivable benefit in its propaganda and dissemination of information among the citizens of color of the United States of America.

The man or men, who originated the plan were far-seeing diplomats and they should be commended for their foresight and condemned for their failure to secure the accomplishment of their object. But there was another "hitch" in the arrangements, which may be well included in this same chapter.

Here is what the distinguished Dr. DuBois says:

"A puzzling dilemma between de-

votion to his life work and duty to his country in time of war was thus forced upon Dr. DuBois. His final conclusion, painful as it had to be, was to accept the commission. When thousands are giving their lives to their country, how could he long hesitate in risking far less?

"This delicate situation was further complicated by vague rumors which led friends of the Association with more zeal than thought to charge the Government with attempted 'bribery' and Dr. DuBois with being a 'traitor.' Some who disagreed with the July editorials of The Crisis saw in them further evidences of a 'corrupt bargain,' not knowing that those editorials were written two weeks before Dr. DuBois had the slightest intimation that his services were to be asked, and were in print before he reached Washington."

Then comes the third chapter. It reads:

"Finally, the General Staff, after carefully considering the matter from all angles, had decided not to establish the proposed bureau 'at present' as its broad scope might lead 'beyond the proper limits of military activity.'"

We have concluded to have one division marked "Finis." It is the final word of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the leading citizen of color in this country today. He concludes as follows:

"Here the matter rests. It is deplorable that this splendid and statesmanlike plan has been abandoned and equally unfortunate that any question as to its desirability should have ever arisen among black folk. The personal side of it is of less consequence and has left Dr. DuBois in unruffled serenity. No one who essays to teach the multitude can long escape crucifixion."

There is this difference in the attitude of the authorities of the War Department and the statement of Dr. DuBois. The former say that it has been decided not to establish the bureau "at present" and the latter says that it has been decided to abandon the establishment of the bureau.

Dr. DuBois says that he is left in unruffled serenity and then concludes the editorial utterances with the remark, "No one who essays to teach the multitude can long escape crucifixion." What we want to know is, Can a crucified man be left in "unruffled serenity?" We would also like to know if the distinguished philosopher, scholar and economist wrote that editorial article in the September issue of The Crisis.

It looks very much to us that there

were two things that caused that department bureau to disappear. First and foremost was the action of his own Board of Directors, which Board refused to countenance the payment out of The Crisis' funds, the necessary one thousand dollars to enable the learned scholar to receive the necessary amount to guarantee him against financial loss and the other was the attitude of the colored people in Washington in particular and the country in general in regarding the proposed movement as an effort to stifle sentiment and racial demands in the columns of The New York Crisis.

He says that all of the members of the Board that he consulted urged his acceptance, but Archibald H. Grimke, of Washington and he did not commit himself and yet when the meeting of this same Board took place, the Board expressed doubt as to the advisability of his continuing in charge of The Crisis. This is a "muddle" of the most unimproved kind and character.

Dr. DuBois' position is one of humiliation and embarrassment. It comes from accepting a position that had not been created and in making money one of the primary prerequisites to such an acceptance. Colored men and white ones too, are alleging to be working for one dollar per year in order to help the Government, but this brilliant leader could not accept an appointment at a reduction of one thousand dollars per year for performing great racial services.

Viewed from any angle, the explanation given cannot be defended. Our distinguished friend and countryman has made a mistake and those who made promises to him are responsible for his present unfortunate predicament. But why unduly blame Dr. DuBois? We are all "as prone to err as the sparks are to fly upward."

Hon. Emmett J. Scott, who has been doing his best to serve his people and the War Department has had his turn at public condemnation on the part of the colored folks and other colored leaders have experienced the same kind of embarrassments. It is Dr. DuBois' turn now. We are looking towards Boston and we see or think we see Editor William Monroe Trotter smiling, and we conclude with the last line of the editorial in The New York Crisis: "No one who essays to teach the multitude can long escape crucifixion." Selah.

THE EXPECTANT NEGRO

Let us not deceive ourselves, and moreover, let us not attempt to deceive others as to the expectations of the Negro in the readjustments that are to take place with reference to his status in the Nation in the reconstruction period that is now on. Most assuredly the Negro expects better conditions for himself and for his family which he purposes to leave as a heritage to his posterity. The basis for this expectation is in his one-hundred per cent Americanism, the more than his percentage in the draft registration and the more than his percentage in the call to arms and the splendid account that he gave of himself once that he was on the front facing the enemy. These are his credentials for better treatment to say nothing of a recompense which he deserves for the treatment in the past and the reward that should be his for the loyalty to the Nation when he had little to be loyal for. There may be a debate as to what the full measure of the Negro's reward shall be, but there is an irreducible minimum which American cannot withhold and face the light of civilized history, and an awakened conscience. What the Negro expects is giving some of our white friends concern and it is a thing upon which the average Negro is cogitating day and night.

A very interesting session of the Committee on the Welfare of Negro Troops, an auxiliary to the Central War Time Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, was held recently in New York City. A general statement was sent by a representative of one of the important agencies identified with one of the war activities who thought it well to call the attention of the Committee to the question bearing on certain relations between the races in certain sections.

The author of the statement, a white man, asked the committee to give some expression as to what is the best to be done in the interest of all concerned.

The statement of the white representative follows:

First: That there was a manifest feeling of unrest among both white and colored people in his district—a thickly populated section of one of the Southern States.

Second: That there seemed to be a growing feeling of mistrust toward the white people, on the part of the colored people.

Third: That the white people were keenly interested to know as to what the colored people were thinking about; and somewhat disturbed over the fact that there was a seeming dispo-

sition on the part of the colored people to keep the whites "in the dark" as to their thoughts.

Fourth: That the Negro preachers and speakers were encouraging their people to expect a new adjustment of things under the application of the principles of Democracy.

The representative states four very important propositions. The unrest to which he refers in his first paragraph is due to a very apparent and in some sections, a very pronounced effort, to keep the Negro in his place and that place is the place of suppression and repression which he has occupied all these years. One would hardly believe it, but there are persons under the stars and stripes who would grant to the Negro not a single inch of advancement and no rights and privileges because of his heroism and loyalty during the war just closed. Naturally enough, these are they who are making the unrest by seeking to keep the Negroes position status quo and the Negro knowing the situation resents it. And the second proposition grows out of the first. The representative says that the white people are anxious to know, but that the Negro is keeping them "in the dark." At the same time he admits that the Negro preachers and speakers are encouraging their people to expect a new adjustment of things under the application of the principles of democracy. That is not only the case with the Negro preachers and speakers but it is pretty nearly the case of every Negro, he is expecting a new adjustment and a truer application of the principles of democracy.

When these four principles were presented to the Committee, Dr. John R. Hawkins, Financial Secretary of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, made a reply. This reply will be found elsewhere in our paper under the heading, "What the Negro Expects," and the fourteen points will meet the approval of quite all of the twelve million Negro citizens in this country. Dr. Hawkins has interpreted the mind of his people.

The Negro does want suffrage He will make this proposition to the South that there need not be a single change of a law in the South except in those amendments that are particularly discriminatory against him, that is to say, he will accept any standard of qualification of suffrage that is administered impartially and equally to all. These suffrage amendments were framed to the advantage of the white man. We will grant him this advantage and only ask that the same qualification that is accepted of white men shall be the same standard for

the Negro. If property qualification is \$300 worth of property as is the case in the State of Louisiana, then let every Negro whose property is valued at \$300 register and vote without intimidation. We would even accept the understanding clause, not as administered by a demagogue of a politician who has prejudged the case, but an understanding clause that is administered to all and administered with common sense. The understanding clause in itself is absolutely undemocratic. It is entirely too flexible. It is too inviting to wrong doing. And yet, if it were administered fairly to white and black alike the Negro would not complain. The ballot is important. It is our registration card of American citizenship. We want it. It should not be denied. We ask no special favors. Let us not be discriminated against because of our political complexion. Let us not be discriminated against because of our racial alignment. Let us enjoy the sacred right of American suffrage on any basis that is fairly and squarely administered alike to all men.

Most assuredly, as Dr. Hawkins asserts, we want better educational facilities. We want adequate educational facilities. And if we are to serve the Nation in time of war, we want access to military training. There was a time when Negro youths were admitted to the War and Naval colleges but now there is not a Negro in the War and Naval colleges of the Nation. This is a direct discrimination against the Negro, and that seems almost impossible when one knows that in some measure at least, the perpetuity of the Nation rests upon the Negro's loyalty. How in the world any sensible man expects to promote loyalty by such downright lawless, criminal discrimination we cannot see.

We invite a careful study of Dr. Hawkins fourteen points, believing that they express very generally the opinion of the twelve million Negro's in this country.

The White Man Who Grasps Negro Secrets

N Y C SUN

JULY 7, 1918

By LEONARD BENNETT.

WHEN a publisher receives over 10,000 letters of inquiry about and commendation of stories by an author it is time for the literary reporter to write him up.

Although Dr. E. K. Means, author of negro stories, fifty-seven of which have appeared in the Munsey publications, has only been writing for three years, he numbers his readers by the hundred thousand. Fortunately the appearance of a yellow jacketed volume spangled with huge red blobs and bearing no title but the author's name, *E. K. Means*, synchronized with one of Dr. Means's rare visits to New York. The yellow kivered volume, the unconventional title and a glimpse of the contents of *E. K. Means* make you eager to know more of E. K. Means the man.

Dr. E. K. Means was born in Taylor county, Ky., where his father at that time had charge of a pastorate. Dr. Means is himself pastor of the First Methodist Church at Monroe, La., and has held pastorates in Shreveport, Baton Rouge, Minden and Arcadia. To-day he is practically the only author who is writing of the negro in negro dialect, and in his actual environment.

The Inscrutable Black.

"The white man does not understand the negro," says Dr. Means. "He is the great unexplored mystery, the unknown quantity. On the other hand, the negro knows all about the white man—what is in his pockets and what is in his brains; what he is thinking about.

"The negro goes into the white man's house, hears all, sees all, says nothing, thinks—no white man knows what he thinks. The white man rarely goes into a negro church or home, does not know how he lives or what he talks about.

"A group of negroes will immediately subdue their conversation on the approach of a white man. And yet," Dr. Means said with a suspicion of a smile on his face, "there are white men who will tell you that they know all about the negro."

For himself Dr. Means insisted, although he was born among them, raised in their midst and has studied them for

years, and during that study has learned to love them, he has barely scratched the surface of negro psychology.

A New Race Consciousness.

"The negro is changing. The negro as Joel Chandler Harris knew him, with his folk lore and jungle tales, no longer exists; the negro of the reconstruction days who was feared as a menace is no longer to be considered as such; the negro, as we know him to-day, will not be in existence in a few years; the negro is solving his own problem."

It was here that Dr. Means made a statement which will be a revelation for many Northern readers, with whom the idea of negro preference for a "yaller gal" has become a tradition—a revelation which removes the menace, which appeared during reconstruction days, of wholesale intermarriage with the poor whites. The old order has changed, and Dr. Means declared that the negro to-day has acquired "a pride of race." There is little hope of advancement for the negro in the South to-day if he has white blood in his veins.

"In the colored Methodist church," Dr. Means asserted, "no candidate will be considered for a vacant bishopric unless he be as black as the ace of spades." As to the reason for this change of sentiment, Dr. Means would not commit himself, but offered the suggestion that the negro may have become aware of the biological law which dooms the admixture of black and white blood to early extinction. This significant fact, Dr. Means believes, may have been perceived by the negro, and he may be adjusting his life to conform with it. However, it is no use to try to find out from the negro, for he is inscrutable. As proof of this inscrutability, Dr. Means offered evidence regarding certain negro superstitions:

"What white man claiming to know the negro can tell you why they will never cook the heart of a chicken? Why a negro will never lay an axe to nor burn the pod of a tree that has been struck by lightning?

"Why," asked Dr. Means, "does a negro shake snake dust in his shoes and a buzzard's feather in his cap before will venture into danger?"

Dr. Means declares he has examined negroes upon these subjects without elucidating any more satisfactory reason than "They ain't no reason," and an unreadable

smile.

And while on the subject of black magic, Dr. Means declared that his investigations into the subject had convinced him that certain individual negroes are possessed of a sixth sense, a "jungle sense."

"How otherwise can we explain the workings of the grapevine telephone, by means of which communications penetrate into the remotest districts, far removed from telegraph or railroad connection, and yet spread with a swiftness impossible to any known human agency?"

A Prophet of the Flood.

The following story of the negro prophet and the Galveston flood is vouched for by Dr. Means:

Three weeks before the great tidal wave an old negro entered the office of the *Galveston News* and uttered such loud cries and lamentations, declaring that the city was to be engulfed by the seas, that he was led from the office. It was a good story, however, and as such was written up by a staff reporter.

A week from that date at 11 o'clock and hour the negro prophet reappeared and repeated his warning; he had worked himself up into such a frenzy that he had to be forcibly ejected from the office.

One week later the old negro appeared again, dropped on his knees on the floor and in tears besought the white people to give heed. When led from the office the old negro declared that this was his last visit, that before the week was out the city would be destroyed.

A reference to the files of the *Galveston News* three weeks before the date of the flood will corroborate this statement, which might be explained as an illusion and a coincidence, but how shall we explain instances of second sight and mind reading which Dr. Means has personally investigated?

Dr. Means told tales of mind reading by negroes who would repeat word for word to him what he was reading to himself out of a book, or what he had in his mind. If in reading he intentionally paraphrased a sentence, the negro would give both the original sentence and the paraphrase.

He told tales of negroes who could tell the number of sheep in a flock or the number of packages in a box, but the limitations of space unfortunately forbid the recounting of more than one instance,

which is given for the special benefit of the sceptic, who can conduct a personal investigation, since the name of the negro and the place of his residence are given.

X-Ray Eyes.

In Minden, La., there is a negro boy named Webster, who is employed by a tailoring and pressing establishment. This boy has X-ray eyes. He can tell you what you hold in your hand, how many fillings you have in your teeth, how many pigs a sow will bring forth in her litter and what sex they will be. He has been tested to the utmost and has never been known to fail.

But this gift has proved anything but a blessing to the boy, who is a pariah in the community. He cannot set foot anywhere without being ordered out:

"Get out of here! Take those — eyes off me!" is the sole advantage he has reaped from his strange gift. No inducement will prevail upon him to go North or to enter a clinic to make his gift available in the service of science. He remains in the little town of Minden and will probably be an outlaw hunted and harried to the end of his days.

Eight Good Stories.

But if the reader would know more of E. K. Means the man and what he has learned from years spent in study of the negro we must refer him to *E. K. Means* the book, which brings to mind the fact that in the absorbing interest of Dr. Means's stories, we have quite overlooked explaining the symbolism of the red blobs on the yellow kivered volume—but this is something the reader had better ferret out for himself. As to the contents of *E. K. Means* the book:

There are eight negro tales in which the habits of the Hen-Scratch saloon are depicted in various incidents of their colorful lives. There is a whimsical humor running through all these stories and a touch of the tragedy which haunts the laughing, music loving race. What reader, once he has read the tale *Hoodoo Eyes* will ever forget the prizefight in which Conko Mukes, having received instructions from Prof. Dodo Zodono, proceeds to put his opponent to sleep by the hypnotic route. "Sleep! Sleep! Sleep, Hitch Diamond, go to sleep!" And in the last tale of the book, where the fortunes of Hitch Diamond are again featured, there

are as many tears as laughs involved in a tale of adventure which thrills the reader from the very start to the dramatic finish.

E. K. Means is a raconteur to be reckoned with. There is no moral to his tales, no attempt at "uplift," and, although the author maintains that the negro is inscrutable, you cannot lay down this book without feeling that you have a better understanding of and a higher regard for the race E. K. Means has so luminously portrayed.

FOURTEEN ARTICLES

More than casual consideration is due the answer submitted by Mr. John R. Hawkins to the question raised as to the wants, or expectations of the Negro race in America after the war, which was printed in The Age last week. While disclaiming any authority to speak for the twelve million Negroes of this country, Mr. Hawkins reduced his reasoning to fourteen specific articles as a basis of democracy at home. The thoroughness with which the ground was covered may be judged by the headings of the specific articles:

- I. Universal Suffrage.
- II. Better educational facilities in the South for Negroes.
- III. The abolition of the so-called "Jim Crow" car system.
- IV. Discontinuance of unjust discriminatory regulations and segregation in the various departments of the government.
- V. The same military training for colored youths as for white.
- VI. The removal of an imaginary deadline in the recognition of fitness for promotion in military and naval service.
- VII. Removal of peonage system in the South.
- VIII. An economic wage scale to be applied to white and colored alike.
- IX. Better housing conditions for colored employees in industrial plants.
- X. Better sanitary conditions in certain sections of our cities and towns.
- XI. Reforms in the penal institutions of the South.
- XII. A fair and impartial trial by jury instead of lynching.
- XIII. Recognition of the Negro's right and fitness to sit out juries.
- XIV. Fair play.

How fully and comprehensively Mr. Hawkins has covered the

situation remains to be decided by the votes of those for whom he has spoken. But it must be conceded that all the subjects touched upon by him are of vital interest to the welfare of the race.

Nearly two years ago The Age published a resume of the causes of the migration movement then in progress from the South. From a close scrutiny of the Negro press of the South, the following remedies were found to be assigned as the strongest arguments why the Negroes should not leave the South: Increased wages; suppression of mob law; fair treatment; protection of person and property; the right to vote; better school advantages; better sanitation and housing conditions.

As all of these subjects have been included and elaborated in Mr. Hawkins's fourteen articles, we think the situation has been pretty exhaustively treated. If there has been any specific omission, the fourteenth article calling for fair play will remedy the oversight.

A careful reading and consideration of Mr. Hawkins's article is to be desired on the part of both races. It should work for a mutual understanding and a getting together on common ground, the practical results may be worked out.

The Color Line

The Mobile
Forum
By ISOBEL FIELD
of The Vigilantes

11-23-1918

Race prejudice is shifting from America over to the battlefields of France. As the pride of our negro soldier grows in this country a very violent dislike for him is spreading all along the German front. In more than one place the color line and the front line of battle merged into one—the rage and dismay of the Hun.

The Teuton prejudice against color would be even more intense if Germany could know what the American

negroes are doing in every department of war work. Our enemies have felt the force of negro valor as exemplified by Henry Johnston with his bolo knife and Needham Roberts with his stack of bombs; but there is more behind.

Of the stevedores, George Freeman, the American labor contractor (who took 1,500 of them to France), says: "They are the finest workers you ever saw. One negro can do four times as much work as any other man, and have fun doing it. The French stevedores stand by and look on with amazement at my hustling gangs. The way they handle a 100-pound crate makes the Frenchmen's eyes bulge."

In the shipbuilding yards the whirlwind methods of the negroes have caused a sensation both in this country and in England. Charles Knight, a colored man, won the prize for fast riveting—25 pounds in money—from Lord Northcliffe and a letter from that Englishman which says: "Your world's record feat of driving 4,875 rivets on May 16th has set for American shipbuilders the fast pace that is necessary for carrying on the war successfully. Such an achievement as yours carries across the seas an inspiring message of American domination and ability."

Negro Women in France.

Seven hundred volunteer negro women are in France working in the huts and canteens of the Y. M. C. A., and there are many colored secretaries in this same noble service abroad. The Red Cross is placing colored trained nurses in the base hospitals in this country, and is considering the plea of 3,000 graduate negro nurses for overseas service.

All over the country 12,000,000 colored Americans are loyally backing the government with their hard-earned money. Out of their wages and savings they invested \$7,000,000 in three issues of the Liberty Loan bonds. They gave one million in the first Red Cross drive and two million in the second, besides investing four million in Thrift stamps. This fine record cannot be told in terms of money alone, for it is the spirit that counts, and the spirit of the colored Americans is passionately loyal.

Now, when a new loan is to be launched the negroes will be found well prepared to meet it. They have learned more about their government in the last year than they ever knew in their lives before. The growing sympathy and appreciation of their patriotic efforts by the white people have given them confidence. The success of the colored troops abroad have thrilled them with a pride that will express itself in renewed efforts.

During the last year many new societies have been formed among the colored people and these, with the old established ones, have been ac-

tively and intelligently engaged in war work.

Doing Great Service.

They have formed committees to sell Liberty bonds and Thrift stamps; they have helped the two Red Cross drives; they care for the dependents of negro soldiers; they send comforts to their troops abroad; they have opened their canteens in several large cities for the benefit of negro soldiers on leave, and they meet to knit, sew and roll bandages. All this work has been so well organized that the various societies are now civic centers well prepared to launch any patriotic service with every appearance of success.

In the magazines and many newspapers published by the negroes every effort is being made to encourage their readers to the utmost. Race troubles; the ignominy of "Jim Crow" cars in the South; the delay of the Red Cross in sending trained colored nurses abroad; the antinegro riots in Philadelphia, have all been passed over with the urgent plea that personal grievances be forgotten in the one great unanimous aim—to win the war.

With such a spirit animating our colored Americans the government may rest assured that Liberty loans, like the black troops at the front, will go "over the top" with enthusiasm. Well may Germany wish to draw the color line!

URGES JUSTICE

FOR THE NEGRO

The Afro-American
Jan. 26, 1918
Prominent Educator Says

Race Problem Is Simply
One of Prejudice

PLEADS FAIR PLAY

Asks That They Be Given
Chance To Prove
Themselves Men.

Philadelphia, January 23—"The race problem is simply one of prejudice," declared Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, in a lecture at the Young Friends' Association in the series on "Internationalism," being given under the auspices of the committee on peace and emergency service of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

Taking up first the Negro in America as a problem to be considered; Dr. Holmes dwelt upon the way the Negro in the South is exploited by the whites because his ignorance renders him helpless, and he is thus kept in a state of servitude after the lapse of fifty years from date of physical freedom.

"Unwillingness," he continued, "to let the Negro take the place for which he is fitted in the South forces him North, and ultimately makes his presence more desired in the South."

The way in which the situation can be met, in Dr. Holmes' opinion, is to have the Negro take his place on the basis of fitness and ability without regard to race. "This," he said, "would cut out most of the Negro people, we must admit, but it would not condemn the unusual ability, really superior, to be classed with the inferior majority. 'We have no objection to association with the Negro,' he declared. 'We do not object to him in the Pullman car with us, provided he is there as a porter and not as a sleeper. We do not object to him on the dining car, provided he is back of our chair instead of beside us. Superiority and inferiority are facts, and no scheme can make them so except the person himself.'

"It is cruelty to block the Negro. Every opportunity should be given. He has never had the chance we had and yet men of genius have proven themselves despite the handicap of color."

"The only way out is justice. Let the demand for him be so great that he will be important, and so given consideration."

In dealing with Japanese and Chinese as problems the speaker asserted that "the United States record for treaty breaking has not been equalled by any nation on earth and should make us humble in condemnation of others."

Distinguished Bostonian Discusses an After-War Problem "of Tremendous Power for Destruction if Not Soon Solved"

BOSTON MASS HERALD
AUGUST 4, 1918

THINKING men the country over foresee grave problems arising in our national life when the war is over. Some of these questions are of a nature to stagger a mind whose vision is keen enough and broad enough to sense the rising currents and their tremendous power for destruction if uncurbed. Possibly a New York business man expressed the situation as it now appears when he said the other day: "I dread the next 25 years, for ignorance will be largely in control of our national affairs."

With ignorance, all too often, goes lawlessness; and we have today a form of mob rule that bodes ill for the years to come, unless its appalling menace is realized and its evil is destroyed. That form of mob rule reveals itself in myriad lynchings and in the contempt for law and the defiance toward authority that attend these public murders.

Discussing "THE NEGRO QUESTION," Moorfield Storey has issued an appeal that may some day be ranked with the warnings of Garrison—a sermon that should bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every decent American citizen.

"There are in this country today," says Mr. Storey, "from 10 to 12 millions of native Americans entitled under the constitution and laws of the United States to every right that any American citizen enjoys and protected against hostile legislation in any state by the fourteenth amendment. Yet all over the country their rights are ignored and they are subjected to indignities of every kind, simply because they are Negroes."

"The Constitution expressly provides that the right of citizens to vote 'shall not be denied or abridged . . . on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Yet in many states this provision is set at naught. The Negroes have felt the murderous violence of the Ku Klux Klan, they have seen brutality followed by fraud when elections were carried by tissue-paper ballots, and the same results accomplished later by 'grandfather clauses' and laws intended to enable election

officers to reject their votes. We need not enumerate the methods for we all know that in the Southern states the Negro vote has been and is suppressed. This is admitted and justified by the Southern people.

"Negroes are denied the protection which the law affords the lives and property of other citizens. If only charged with crime or even misdemeanor, they are at the mercy of the mob and may be killed and tortured with absolute impunity. In many states they cannot obtain justice in the courts. At hotels, restaurants and theatres they are not admitted or are given poor accommodation. In the public parks and public conveyances, even in the public offices of the nation, they are set apart from their fellow-citizens. The districts which they occupy in cities are neglected by the authorities, and of the money which the community devotes to education, a very small fraction is allotted to them, so that their schoolhouses and their teachers are grossly inadequate. It is notorious that in many cities they are wretchedly housed and charged unreasonable rents for their abodes."

Find Doors Closed

"Labor unions will not receive them as members, and as nonunion men they find it hard to get employment. If in spite of every obstacle they gain an education, they find door after door closed to them which would have opened to receive them gladly had their skins been white. The deliberate effort is made to stamp them as inferior, to keep them 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' to deny them that opportunity to rise which America offers to every other citizen or emigrant no matter how ignorant or how degraded."

Mr. Storey quotes the Atlanta Constitution in support of his statements, and cites a Mississippi lawyer as declaring that "it is next to impossible to convict even upon the strongest evidence any white man of a crime of violence upon the person of a Negro . . . and next to an impossibility to acquit a Negro of any crime of violence where a white man is concerned. . . . We cannot . . .

continue to mete out one kind of criminal justice to a poor man, a friendless man, or a man of a different race, and another kind of justice to a rich man, an influential man, or a man of our own race without reaping the consequences."

And this from the Vicksburg Herald:

The Herald looks with no favor upon drafting Southern Negroes at all, believing they should be exempted in toto because they do not equally "share in the benefits of government." To say that they do so is to take issue with the palpable truth. "Taxation without representation," the war cry of the revolutionary wrong against Great Britain, was not half so plain a wrong as requiring military service from a class that is denied suffrage and which lives under such discriminations of inferiority as the "Jim Crow" law and inferior school equipment and service.

"One might criticize such an utterance," comments Mr. Storey, "as intended to encourage resistance to conscription by the Negroes. We might imagine that the writer from these premises would argue against the 'wrong' which he recognizes. Alas, no. His argument is that the wrong must be made permanent and the conscription of Negroes abandoned because it makes the wrong too apparent. He says: 'Drafting Negroes as soldiers is a gross travesty and contradiction of the color-line creed,' and rather than abandon that creed he would deprive his country in this terrible crisis of all the soldiers which twelve millions of people are ready and anxious to supply."

"If we ask what is done for education, the report of a careful investigation published by the bureau of education in the department of the interior is melancholy reading."

Little Money for Negro Education

"It gives the facts as to the 16 Southern States, the District of Columbia and Missouri, in which the population contains a considerable portion of Negroes, and states that in 15 states and the District of Columbia 'for which salaries by race could be obtained' the figures showed an expenditure of '\$10.32 for each white child and \$2.89 for each colored child.' The conditions

are even worse than these figures indicate, for, as the report states, 'the per capita expenditure for Negro children is higher in the border states, where the proportion of colored people is relatively small and the proportion for colored high schools is better.' The more numerous the Negroes the smaller is the provision for their education. A table in the report shows that in the counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is less than 10 per cent., the per capita expenditure for white and colored is nearly equal. It evidently does not pay to maintain separate schools. Where, however, the percentage of Negroes is between 50 and 75 per cent., the expenditure for the white is \$12.53 per capita and for the colored \$1.77, while where the percentage exceeds 75 per cent. the expenditure for the whites is \$22.2 and for the Negroes only \$1.78 per capita.

The Negro was seated on the ground and a buggy axle driven into the ground between his legs. His feet were chained together, with logging chains, and he was pertied with wire. A fire was built. Pokers and flatirons were procured and heated in the fire. It was thirty minutes before they were red-hot.

His self-appointed executioners burned his eyeballs with red-hot irons. When he opened his mouth to cry for mercy a red-hot poker was rammed down his gullet. Red-hot irons were placed on his feet, back and body, until a hideous stench of burning human flesh filled the Sabbath air of Dyersburg.

Thousands of people witnessed this scene. They had to be pushed back from the stake to which the Negro was chained. Roof tops, second-story windows and porch tops were filled with spectators. Children were lifted to shoulders that they might behold the agony of the victim.

A little distance away, in the public square, the best citizens of the county supported the burning and torturing with their nearby presence.

This graphic sketch of the scene is quoted from the Memphis News-Scimitar:

Not a domino hid a face. Every one was unmasked. Leaders were designated and assigned their parts. Long before the mob reached the city the public square was choked with humanity. All waited patiently. Women with babies made themselves comfortable.

At last the irons were hot. A red streak shot out; a poker in a brawny hand was boring out one of the Negro's eyes. The Negro bore the ordeal with courage, only low moans escaping him. Another poker was working like an auger on the other orbit.

Swish. Once, twice, three times, a red-hot iron dug gaping places in Lation Scott's back and sides. "Fetch a hotter one," somebody said. The execution went on. Now some one had another poker—jabbing its fiery point into the ribs of the doomed black. Then rubbish was piled high about the agonized body, squirming beneath its load. More and more wood and rubbish were fed the fire, but at 3 o'clock Lation

Some Tales of Horror

Taking up the matter of lynchings, Mr. Storey says:

"That you may realize what lynching is, let me give you instances.

But he is not dead. Life finally fled at 4 o'clock.

Women scarcely changed countenance as the Negro's back was ironed with the hot brands. Even the executioners maintained their poise in the face of bloody creases left by the irons—irons which some housewife had been using.

Three and a half hours were required to complete the execution.

"We cannot but wonder," says Mr. Storey, "whether on that Sunday morning, in the shadow of the churches, any of the respectable church-going citizens of Dyersburg who witnessed these horrors remembered the immortal words 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me.'"

At Estill Springs in Tennessee a Negro charged with killing two white men was in like manner tortured and burned alive. The Chattanooga Times thus describes what occurred:

Jim McIlherron, the Negro who shot and killed Pierce Rodgers and Jesse Tigert, two white men, at Estill Springs last Friday and wounded Frank Tigert, was tortured with a red-hot crowbar and then burned to death here tonight at 7:40 by 12 masked men. A crowd of approximately 2000 persons, among whom were women and children, witnessed the burning.

McIlherron, who was badly wounded and unable to walk, was carried to the scene of the murder, where preparation for a funeral pyre was begun.

The captors proceeded to a spot about a quarter of a mile from the railroad station and prepared the death fire. The crowd followed and remained throughout the horrible proceedings. The Negro was led to a hickory tree, to which they chained him. After securing him to the tree a fire was laid. A short distance away another fire was kindled, and into it was put an iron bar to heat.

When the bar became red hot a member of the mob jabbed it toward the Negro's body. Crazed with fright, the black grabbed hold of it, and as it was pulled through his hands the atmosphere was filled with the odor of burning flesh. This was the first time the murderer gave evidence of his will being broken. Scream after scream rent the air. As the hot iron was applied to various parts of his body his yells and cries for mercy could be heard in the town.

After torturing the Negro several minutes one of the masked men poured coal oil on his feet and trousers and applied a match to the pyre. As the flames rose, enveloping the black's body, he begged that he be shot. Yells of derision greeted his request. The angry flames consumed his clothing and little blue blazes shot upward from his burning hair before he lost consciousness.

"These details are revolting, and you may ask me why I harrow you by reciting them. Because unless the hideous horror of the disease is brought home to you, you will not rouse yourselves to find the remedy.

"The massacre of St. Louis is fresh in your memories, and its horrors

are well known at the South, as appears by the article in the Greenville News, published at Greenville, South Carolina, of all days on July 4, 1917, under the title 'The Banner Lynching':

Twenty Negroes have been killed, 300 hundred are injured, and more than 150 of their homes have been burned. This was the work of a mob that showed no Negro mercy, that did not stop to discriminate between the good and the bad. All that could be caught were beaten if not slain, and battered into pulp. White women caught Negro women and tore their clothes off, beat them and ran away. As the Negroes ran out of their burning houses, fired by the mob, they were shot down like dogs. One thousand five hundred soldiers do not suffice to control the situation. Hundreds of Negroes many of them carrying babies, are fleeing from their former homes. Five hundred of the mob are in jail.

The Memphis burning of a Negro at the stake, the Abbeville lynching of Crawford, seem insignificant when compared with the East St. Louis shambles, when the streets ran red with Negro blood; when Negro women, innocent and unoffending, were brutally beaten; when Negro men were shot down for competing with white labor.

Scenes hardly less atrocious, Mr. Storey points out, have taken place at Coatesville, Pa., and at Springfield, Ill., the home of Abraham Lincoln, and though the men who committed these crimes were well known, not one was ever punished.

"The great body of the community approves or lynching would stop. Men justify their treatment of the Negroes by saying that it is necessary 'to preserve their civilization,' while the editor of the Little Rock Daily News recently wrote that he considered white men 'just a little lower than the angels,' and the Negro 'just a little higher than the brutes.' What sort of 'civilization' do such actions reveal, and who are the angels whom these white men so closely resemble?"

Lynching Not a Preventive

Pointing out that, in the words of Dr. W. C. Scroggs of the Louisiana State University, "Not only is lynching no preventive of crimes against women, but statistics prove that only one time in four are such crimes the cause of lynching," Mr. Storey cites Col. Henry Watterson as saying:

Lynching * * * is not an effort to punish crime. It is a sport which has as its excuse the fact that a crime, of greater or less gravity, has been com-

mitted or is alleged. * * * Lynchers are not persons who strive from day to day toward social betterment. * * * Oftentimes they are ruffians wholly sober in so far as alcoholic indulgence is concerned, but highly stimulated by an opportunity to indulge in spectacular murder when there is no fear that the next grand jury will return murder indictments against them.

Of the Negroes, Mr. Storey says: "We white men took them from their homes and brought them here to be our slaves. We held them in slavery for more than two centuries. We called them 'chattels,' we refused them all the rights of men and did our best to make them brutes. We were afraid to let them learn and we kept them ignorant. Their patience, their kindness, their gentleness made all this possible. Had they been less patient, slavery would have perished at the outset.

Their Civil War Loyalty

"During the civil war waged, at least after 1863, to free them, they showed a loyalty to their masters which is without a parallel in history. They tilled the soil and raised the crops which fed the Southern soldiers, who were fighting to keep them slaves. To their protection these soldiers confided their wives and children, and, as a leading Southern gentleman said to me:

"There was not a single case in which this trust was betrayed," adding with tears in his voice, 'There never was a better race than the Negroes.' This shows how far they were from brutes. There were in the confederate states nearly 4,000,000 slaves, but, as Mr. Rhodes says, they 'made no move to rise.' In the graphic words of Henry Grady: 'a thousand torches would have disbanded the Southern army, but there was not one.'

"The Negroes had no voice in reconstruction, nor did they propose or in any way help to carry the amendments to the constitution which secure their rights. We forget that Andrew Johnson reconstructed the southern states on a white basis, and that Legislatures of white men chosen by white votes at once passed laws which virtually re-established slavery. The amendments were adopted to save the country from such calamity and to preserve forever the results of the war. The contemporary records abundantly establish these propositions.

"If in the first few years the Negroes made a foolish use of their newly acquired power, they acted under white leaders who led them wrong, and who were able to do so because the men to whom for four years they had shown such unexampled loyalty refused to lead them right. At the worst they acted as people act who are ignorant and unfamiliar with the business of the government. Who had kept them so ignorant and so unprepared to exercise their rights as men? Compare them with the Bolsheviks, or even with the French in 1789, and tell me that they suffer by the comparison. Compare their worst follies with the deeds of the Ku Klux Klan, or the atrocities of East St. Louis and Dyersburg, and you must admit that we white men, who for centuries have been

civilized, can cast no stone against them. "What is there, then, in the Negro which justifies or in any way excuses our treatment of his race? We brought him here and we have governed him ever since. The conditions which exist are of our own creation. We have made the laws under which he lives; we administer them. Save in a few states his vote is negligible. He has no representative in Congress or in executive office. He simply exists as God made him and as we have degraded him. While we deny these millions of men their rights as citizens we demand of them the fulfillment of all the obligations of citizens. We tax their property, and in this supreme crisis of the world's history we demand their lives. Our conscription law recognizes no distinction of color, and loyally they answer their country's call."

By way of testimony from their southern white neighbors, Mr. Storey quotes the Charlotte (N. C.) News:

It is the marvel of the South, as it ought to be the admiration of the whole United States, that when the colored man in the hard stages of the war, through which we are beginning to pass, is being put to the test, he is measuring up to the full valuation of a citizen and a patriot. There has been nothing wanting about him. . . . There has not only been a total absence of resistance, but there has been, rather, a hearty response to every appeal of the government. . . .

Cites Ireland as a Warning

Mr. Storey sees breakers ahead for our ship of state unless a different attitude than the present one is taken toward the Negro. He sees in England's difficulties with Ireland a warning for America.

"For the crime of establishing and maintaining slavery the white people of this country paid bitterly by the sufferings, losses and demoralization entailed by four years of civil war. We may well heed the words of Edmund Burke and 'reflect seriously on the possible consequences of keeping in the hearts of your community a bank of discontent, every hour accumulating, upon which every company of seditious men draw at pleasure.'

"When the Irish troops were brought to London by James II., Macaulay tells us how they were regarded by the English:

No man of English blood then regarded the aboriginal Irish as his countrymen. They did not belong to our branch of the great human family. They were distinguished from us by more than one moral and intellectual peculiarity. They had an aspect of their own, a mother tongue of their own. * * * They were therefore foreigners; and of all foreigners they were the most hated and despised; the most hated, for they had during five cen-

turies always been our enemies; the most despised, for they were our vanquished, enslaved, and despoiled enemies. * * * The Irish were almost as rude as the savages of Labrador. [The Englishman] was a freeman; the Irish were the hereditary serfs of his race. He worshipped God after a pure and rational fashion; the Irish were sunk in idolatry and superstition; * * * and he very complacently inferred that he was naturally a being of a higher order than the Irishman, * * * who were generally despised in our island as both a stupid and cowardly people.

"Could the most prejudiced white man use stronger terms to paint the inferiority of his colored neighbor?

"The Irish nation today is extremely prosperous yet the memory of ancient wrongs coupled with the desire for greater political rights makes her a thorn in England's side, when England needs the loyal support of all her citizens. 'England's extremity is Ireland's opportunity' in bitter truth. We may well bear this example in mind, and remember how small a fraction of the English empire is the discontented part of Ireland, and how much this small discontent costs. We may well ask what is in store for us.

"If it cost us four years of civil war to hold some three or four millions of ignorant Negroes in slavery, what may it not cost us to trample upon the rights and feelings of 12,000,000 freemen, constantly gaining in numbers and education, resources and self-respect! These are questions for me and for you, as well as for every citizen of the United States. What are you doing to answer them?

"Men say that it is for the southern states to deal with the situation, and that we must not interfere. So in 1850 they said that slavery was a Southern question and that none but Southern men could understand or deal with it. The Grand Army of the Republic, living and dead, the soldiers' monuments in every town, the green graves in Southern and Northern land alike, bear witness to the falsity of the claim, and prove that the whole nation pays for the fault of any part. It was the blood of white men which was drawn by the sword to pay for the blood of black men drawn by the lash.

"You may say that this is a rhetorical answer. Let us turn to facts and figures. The presidential election of 1916 stirred the country deeply, and we may take the vote cast then to illustrate my point. Louisiana, Kansas and Mississippi are each entitled to eight representatives in Congress, and must have, therefore, nearly equal populations. Ig-

(see next card)

Race Problem - 1918

United States
(Continued from foregoing card)
"Distinguished Bostonian, etc."
Boston Herald 8/4/18

Ignoring the votes of the small parties, the people of Kansas cast 592,246 votes, the people of Louisiana 86,341 votes, the people of Mississippi 84,675. More than half the people of the latter state are colored, and the proportion is nearly as large in Louisiana. South Carolina, with seven representatives, cast 63,396 voters. Arkansas, with the same representation, 160,296, while Connecticut, with only five representatives, cast 206,300. About 9000 votes elected a representative from South Carolina. A few more than 10,000 chose one in Louisiana and Mississippi, if all the votes were cast for the winning candidates, and as only 1550 Republican votes were cast in South Carolina, 4253 in Mississippi and 6466 in Louisiana, they do not seriously affect my point. In Kansas about 74,030 persons, on an average, voted for each representative, and the delegation was divided, three Republicans and five Democrats. Similar comparisons might be made between other states with like results.

Significance of Vote Suppression

"We should not perhaps be so greatly concerned if these figures merely meant a lack of interest on the part of the voters. Their significance lies in the fact that there was in the southern states no conflict, for the reason that the Negro vote was suppressed. The Negroes are counted as voters in determining how many representatives the state shall have, but are not allowed to cast their own votes, so that each Democrat votes for himself and for one or more Negroes, and consequently exercises a much larger influence in the choice of President and Congress than the voter in Wisconsin or Massachusetts. In the latter states the voter casts one ballot, in the southern states he casts two or three in effect.

"Remembering how small is the majority in the House of Representatives, it is clear that the policy of the country on all important questions, like the incidence of taxation, as well as the administration of the laws by which the taxes are collected, is determined by men who cast votes which they have no right to cast. Men say 'the South is in the saddle,' and the political situation which that phrase describes is due to the suppression of the Negro vote. If the Negroes were not counted in the basis of representation, or if they were allowed to vote freely, this situation would not exist."

That where one party exists unopposed in a free state there can be no

continuance of good government. Minnesota. While such crimes as these Storey points out, citing the Dreyfuss unpunished and therefore evildoer, which, he says, "nearly overtly approved by public opinion, threw" the French republic. "How can we denounce the cruelties of suppression of the Negro vote injure Germany? How do you suppose such things affect our country's reputation with really civilized nations? You concern us? Can a country have a better asset than a body of well-educated citizens? Have we such a subversive feeling about the North perfidy of labor, is our business American Indians, who never did future so assured, that we can afford anything more cruel than these white to throw away competent men? Even Americans, or if you will imagine if men are only to be used for cannon fodder, they need education to be good soldiers. Without it—

"The cannot sign their names. and these horrors at home before we posted daily on the bulletin board in camp.

"They cannot read their manual of arms.

"They cannot read their letters or write home.

"They cannot understand the signals nor follow the signal corps in time of battle.

"We may well be ashamed to think that out of the many thousand Negroes who are enlisted in our ranks and ready to die for us many cannot even write a letter to their anxious mothers at home, so little training have they had in the schools of their country."

"As in the human body a diseased part infects the whole, so in the body politic an ignorant and degraded body of citizens is a menace to the state. Such a class is bad company for its neighbors, its habitations are breeding places for pestilence which easily spreads from the hovel to the palace, they are also sources of moral infection which spreads even more readily, and they offer retreats for criminals of every kind. They are in fact the bases for hostile raids by enemies of the community.

"There is no answer to the question which Carl Schurz put to the southern states:

"How can you expect to succeed in competition with neighboring communities if it is your policy to keep your laborers ignorant and degraded when it is their policy to educate and elevate theirs?"

What Are We Doing?

"How is it with lynching? Does not this affect us all?"

"In the first place these horrors occur over a wide area. Pennsylvania and Illinois have furnished hideous examples as well as Georgia and Tennessee.

While such crimes as these Storey points out, citing the Dreyfuss unpunished and therefore evildoer, which, he says, "nearly overtly approved by public opinion, threw" the French republic. "How can we denounce the cruelties of suppression of the Negro vote injure Germany? How do you suppose such things affect our country's reputation with really civilized nations? You concern us? Can a country have a better asset than a body of well-educated citizens? Have we such a subversive feeling about the North perfidy of labor, is our business American Indians, who never did future so assured, that we can afford anything more cruel than these white to throw away competent men? Even Americans, or if you will imagine if men are only to be used for cannon fodder, they need education to be good soldiers. Without it—

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lent when whole communities thus degraded? If they were threatened by the destruction of property by conflagration or flood we should rush to help them. Barbarism is a worse foe than flood or fire. It is a pestilence whose spread is not recognized until it breaks out in such horrors as that of East St. Louis. Should we not help them to stay its ravages?

"Cannot you realize that your own house is on fire?"

"When this war is over we know that contests between employer and employe are certain, and the air is full of wild claims made by the Bolsheviki and their congeners all over the world. Such periods of readjustment as that which awaits this nation are always dangerous, and if lynchings go unpunished we may find their methods employed against the capitalists who excite their wrath, the courts and the public officers who stand in the way of what the mob of the moment desires, and even counsel may share the fate of their clients. Lawyers have never been so popular since the days of Jackson, and many ruffians believe with him that they should all be hanged. When the Missouri Compromise was repealed, Charles Sumner warned the Senate of the United States that they were sowing dragon's teeth which in time would arise as armed men. Four years of civil war proved him a true prophet.

"We are repeating the sowing, and the crop is just as sure. Believe me, the dangers which threaten our civilization from lawlessness are greater and far more real than any which Prussian soldiers can inflict."

THE U-BOAT'S MOTHER GOOSE

I love neutral vessels,
Their arms are so light
That if I bombard them
They can't wage a fight.

I skulk in the ocean
With schooners for prey.
While troopships and convoys
Sail daily away.

—Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger.

The Rights of the Negro

The widespread attention which is being given to the rights of the negro, even now in the midst of war, is but an indication of the consideration which this subject must receive when the war is over. It is quite in line with the general purpose of the Survey (New York),

to give space to the discussion of this subject. In the issue of that periodical for May 11 we find the document entitled "A Negro Memorial on the Rights of Man". This document may be taken as a fair expression of what leading negroes are thinking and feeling, as well as that for which they intend to stand. This memorial, which reads as follows, was said to have been signed by influential negroes from every part of the United States, and sent to the President, Cabinet, Congress, and governors of the States:

"During the last three decades nearly 3,000 American colored men, women and children have suffered butchery and death in almost every conceivable form at the hands of the lynchers of America. Last year alone the number thus murdered was 222. The reported causes for such appalling brutality run the gamut from alleged violation of the honor of white women to disputing the word of white men. The fact, however, that only about 5 per cent. of these murders are reputed to have been inflicted upon accused violators of womanhood argues almost conclusively that the desire to protect womanhood is almost negligible among the so-called causes of lynchings.

"We accordingly regard lynching as worse than Prussianism, which we are at war to destroy. Lynching is not a cure for crime, either imaginary or real. It decreases faith in the boasted justice of our so-called democratic institutions. It widens the frightful chasm of unfriendly and suspicious feeling between the races and positively foment the spirit of antipathy and resentment. We are accused of concealing criminals. Who has concealed the many criminals that have mercilessly murdered these 3,000 defenseless men, women and children of our race? That these murderers frequently ply their trade in broad daylight and in plain view of the entire citizenry even does not facilitate their punishment or detection. Within less than one year one state alone has tortured and burned at the stake three colored men without even the semblance of a trial or an effort to apprehend and punish the murderers. . . .

"We are the one group of American people, than whom there is none more loyal, which is marked out for discrimination, humiliation and abuse. In the

great patriotic and humanitarian movements, in public carriers, in Federal service the treatment accorded us is humiliating, dehumanizing and reprehensible in the extreme. This persistent and unreasonable practice is but a thrust at the colored man's self-respect, the object being not merely to separate the races, but to impress us with the idea of supposed natural inferiority. Such demoralizing discrimination is not only a violation of the fundamental rights of citizens of the United States, but the persistent segregation of any element of our country's population into a separate and distinct group on the sole basis of color is creating a condition under which this nation cannot long endure.

"When we reflect upon these brutalities and indignities we remember they are due to the fact that in almost every southern state we have systematically, by law or chicanery, been deprived of the right of that very manhood suffrage which genuine democracy would guarantee to every citizen in the Republic. This propaganda of filching from colored Americans the ballot is but a supreme effort to reenslave us and to force our assent to, and our impotence against, any legislation of our opponents. To his policy the black man does not, cannot and will not agree. Of it, our intolerance is cumulative. Against it, we shall exert our righteous efforts until not only every eligible black man but every eligible black woman shall be wielding the ballot proudly in defense of our liberties and our homes.

"We are appealing to you neither as vassals nor as inferiors. Bull Run and Appomattox fixed our status in this nation. We are free men. We are sovereign American citizens—freemen who purchased with our own blood on every battlefield from Bunker Hill to Carrión full rights and immunities such as are freely granted to others but systematically refused us. . . ."

In the same periodical for May 4 we find the first of a series of articles by George Edmund Haynes, Professor of Social Science, Fiske University, on the removal of negroes to the North. Following a lengthy recital of conditions attending the movement and of the progress of the movement, we find these significant paragraphs, which we reproduce as an expression of the interest of southerners in this matter:

"Perhaps the two most far-reaching and encouraging accompaniments of the migration movement are the beginning of frankness and plainness of speech by the leading white southern newspapers and of southern white men and women, and the open conferences and frank conversations between the thinking men and women of both races in the South. A summary of interviews had by several persons with editors of thirty-one leading newspapers in eighteen cities of eight southern states shows that nearly all of these editors are in sympathy with liberal views of democratic justice for Negroes. Many of these editors have embraced the times and have given expression to views quite in advance of the conventional opinions of their communities. The high-water mark has been touched by a number of them.

"Commenting on the Houston riots, the *Memphis Commercial-Appeal* said: 'The peace depends upon the conduct and intelligence of the white people. . . . We have the big advantage of education, and we have other advantages. Therefore the duty rests upon white people to see that there is peace and order.' The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* said: 'The South needs the Negro, and to keep him must be just to him.' The *Nashville Tennessean and American* in an editorial on Negro migration said: 'Then, having made higher wages the main material of our dam, we must throw in a rip-rap of better treatment. Something ought to be done about better housing conditions. . . . But bullying, bulldozing and blustering on the part of officers will have to stop. The officer who manhandles or mistreats a Negro who is behaving himself is not worth nearly as much to the community as the Negro. . . . The Negro is not to be blamed for going. The North is not to be blamed for asking him to go. . . . All the blame falls upon the southern people, who permit conditions that will allow the Negro to be lured away.' In an editorial against mob violence, the *Nashville Banner* said: 'It is not the Negro's fault that he is here. . . . He is a native of this soil as much as the whites. He is a human being and he is entitled to full recognition of his living rights and his humanity. He is in many ways exceedingly useful. The South needs his labor and prefers it to any other. There is serious objection to his emigration, and without any regard to his social and political status, he is entitled to humane treatment and the full protection of the law. Any-

thing else reflects on white people and works to their detriment more than it does to that of the Negro.' Commenting on a sermon on suppression of lynching, the *Atlanta Constitution* said: 'In mob violence and the spirit of the mob there is nothing that a law-abiding citizen can condone; nor that is not repulsive and abhorrent. If we are going to have mob rule, we may as well abolish our courts. But we are not going to abolish our courts, and therefore we have got to abolish the mob.'

"Gradually the silence of the liberal South is being broken. The conscience of this class is speaking its highest convictions. No less important than press utterances have been the statements of white southerners in public addresses and public gatherings. Two notable utterances were voiced the summer of 1917 at the Law and Order Conference of White Southerners held at Blue Ridge, N. C., and in the meeting of the University Commission on Southern Race Questions in Washington, D. C. In the latter mentioned in a preceding paragraph the University Race Commission said: 'The South cannot compete on a financial basis with other sections of the country for the labor of the Negro, but the South can easily keep her Negroes against all allurements if she will give them a large measure of those things that human beings hold dearer than material goods.' The Blue Ridge Conference said in a resolution: 'We pledge to each other and to the people of both white and black races in the South our utmost endeavors to allay hurtful race prejudice, to promote mutual understanding, sympathy and goodwill, to procure economic justice, and in particular to condemn and oppose all forms of mob violence.'

"Recent lynchings in Tennessee have led not only to vigorous protests from the white press, pulpit and individuals, but have resulted in the formation of a Law and Order League for the suppression of mob violence. [Reported in *Survey* (New York) of March 16.] Acting in a local organization at Nashville and composed of the leading business and professional men, the movement in less than a month has drawn white men from all over the state. Representatives of thirty-three cities, towns and counties of the state met and formed a statewide organization. They propose to create a public opinion by means of literature, lectures and the press and to secure enforcement of existing laws and the enactment of new ones by all law-

ful means to stop these outrages. Their prejudices of their white neighbors and proclamation rings with conviction and thus winning their right to an honorable place in the records of American citizenship. One sentence shows its quality: 'We have a strong conviction that lynching is unjustifiable under any and all circumstances, and is wrong in the sight of man and in the sight of God.'

"Reports of many private conversations and conferences of white and colored citizens show that many white people with open minds are talking with Negroes and inquiring what may be done to accord what they now agree is simple justice to Negroes. Many of the Negro spokesmen are saying frankly what they believe to be the mind of the group and what they want as a just share of democratic advantages of wages, hours and conditions of work, schools and protection of life, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness.' One report from Alabama stated that, at a conference, a Negro farmer in trying to express the desires of his people said to the leading white banker who was presiding, 'And, sir, we want the ballot to help say who governs us.' When the banker replied that the good citizens of the state proposed to see that their desires were met, the Negroes present rose in a body and applauded loudly."

To this we add a brief editorial paragraph in *Unity* for May 9:

"The Greenville, South Carolina *News*, speaking editorially, as quoted in the *Crisis*, says, 'The colored men in olive drab at the soldier's parade were viewed by packed throngs and there was no manifestation of ill will towards them. Their conduct has been excellent. Incidentally it was learned that they are the best singers in camp, as is to be expected, for the race has been a singing one for ages. The quietness and good order of these soldiers is very noticeable. It is easy to believe that they are making good soldiers and that they will make good fighters when they get to the firing line.' When the colored soldiers have thus won the respect of the white children of those who owned their parents, they have accomplished a victory more noble and far reaching than anything that they may win in trenches or in the charge. They may make a noble record in killing Germans, but a more notable record is made when they have accomplished the more difficult and heroic thing, that of killing the

CAUSE OF COLORED AMERICA REACHES CONGRESS

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, OF MASSACHUSETTS, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SATURDAY, JUNE 29, 1918.

(Congressional Record, June 29, 1918.)

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include a petition to the House of the National Liberty Congress Colored Americans that has been sitting here this week.

The petition is as follows:

PETITION.

To the House of Representatives of the United States of America:

Honorable Speaker and Representatives, hear and receive, we pray, the petition of the National Liberty Congress, composed of delegates from all sections of this country in behalf of all Colored Americans, those of African extraction, 12,000,000 strong, loyal citizens desiring liberty and the rights of democracy, we petition you to hear our grievances, to wit, that—

FIRST. We are the victims of civil proscription, solely because of race and color, in three-fourths of the States and in the National Capital (Federal territory), barred from places of public accommodation, recreation, and resort; yes, from such places within Government buildings.

SECOND. We are the victims of class distinction, based solely on our race and color, in public carriers in one-third of the States, segregated even when passengers in interstate travel and with the railroads under the control of the Federal Government.

THIRD. We are the victims of caste and race prejudice in Government military and naval schools and in officer schools with other citizens solely on the basis of race and color, and in the Navy itself, except as to the service below deck.

FOURTH. We are the victims of proscriptive discrimination, based on our race and color, in the executive departments of the Federal Government, refused employment in many after appointment through the civil service, segregated at work, in the appointments of health and comfort.

FIFTH. We are the victims of political proscription in one-third of the States, even in the election of Federal officials, in violation of the Federal Constitution, both indirectly by congressional representation based on disfranchisement and directly through intimidation, trickery, or State statutes and constitutions.

SIXTH. We are the victims in many States, as a consequence of the foregoing civil and political proscriptions of imposition, robbery, ravishing, mob violence, murder, and massacre, because of our race and color, denied protection of police, of sheriffs; denied trial by court or jury, rendered impotent to protect our daughters, wives, or mothers from violation by white men or murder by the mob.

Inasmuch as our country is now engaged in the most gigantic war in recorded history, going to Europe to fight, our President, Woodrow Wilson, now the moral leader and spokesman of the allied nations which are resisting Germanic aggression having officially declared that our country has entered the fight for the purpose of democratizing the nations of the world and liberating the free people everywhere, that we are embarked upon "an enterprise which is to release the spirits of the world from bondage," that we are "fighting for the rights of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government," to "make the world at last free" for "security for life and liberty," to "make the world safe for democracy" which, meaning rule of all people, necessarily carries the presumption of the same public rights for all without difference or distinction because of the accidents of race or creed, thereby not creating class privilege, which means autocracy.

Inasmuch as American citizens irrespective of race or color are subject to draft, or are drafted into fighting, while all citizens regardless of race are expected to aid the Government by moral support, by propaganda, by sacrifice at home to help the Government, all of which our racial element is now doing with a loyalty unsurpassed by citizens of any race or color in every war, and, even now, under present treatment, morally greater than that of others because the only vicarious loyalty;

In order that our country may not be weakened in moral position, prestige and power by violations here of the noble pronouncements of its President;

In order that the morale and esprit de corps in this war, both of the soldier and of the civilian part of an element of the American nearly one-eighth, may not be weakened by the consciousness of the present denials to it at home of those conditions and ideals which they are sacrificing or are risking life to secure for others, with their soldiers witnessing the continuance of indignities, oppressions, and killing of their kin ere they leave for the battle front abroad, and without assurance of protection of their family, their sisters, wives, mothers from the lynching mob;

In order that, when this awful world war is over and victory comes to the entente allies, the condition of life of 12,000,000 human beings in the United States of America may not prevent the awful sacrifice from accomplishing the war's moral purpose—democratizing of the nations of the world—and that our own Republic may not be a part of the world not safe for democracy;

We do now petition you, the Congress of the United States of America, as an act of justice, of moral consistency, and to help win the war for world democracy:

FIRST. To abolish and forbid all distinctions, segregations, and discriminations based upon race or color in places of public accommodation, recreation, and resort in Federal buildings and in Federal territory.

SECOND. To abolish and forbid all distinctions, segregations, and discriminations based upon our race and color or upon prejudice of race or color in the emoluments, the rating, the promotions, the placement of employees in the facilities provided by the Government for eating, rest, recreating, health for Government employees, or for others in Federal Government buildings or in Federal hospitals.

THIRD. To abolish and forbid any distinction, separation, or discrimination based on race or color in any coach of any public carrier operated by the Federal Government.

FOURTH. To open the doors of all schools of the Federal Government and all branches of the Army and Navy to citizens on the same basis, without distinction or discrimination based on race or color.

FIFTH. To exercise the mandatory powers of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth articles of the Federal Constitution, to the end that there shall be no involuntary servitude, no denial of the equal protection of law, no denial of the exercise of suffrage because of race, color, or previous condition.

SIXTH. To pass legislation extending the protection of the Federal Government to all citizens of the United States of America at home by enacting that mob murders shall be a crime against the Federal Government, subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal courts, for in the words of President Wilson, "Democracy means, first of all, that we can govern ourselves."

Herewith endeth the petition of the Colored Americans asking that the words of the President of the United States of America be applied to all at home:

"As July 4, 1776, was the dawn of democracy for this Nation, let us on July 4, 1918, celebrate the birth of a new and greater spirit of democracy, by whose influence we hope and believe that what the signers of the Declaration of Independence dreamed of for themselves and their fellow countrymen shall be fulfilled for all mankind."

Joseph H. Stewart, Washington, D. C.; H. H. Brown, Pennsylvania; Rev. J. M. Cornell, South Bethlehem, Pa.; Matthew A. Neil Shaw, M. D., Boston, Mass.; Aaron P. Prioleau, South Carolina; James L. Neil, Washington, D. C.; Miss M. M. Griffin, Philadelphia, Pa.; C. H. Steptean, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. H. D. Denson, Mass.; Rev. H. D. Martin, D. D., Ga.; G. W. Boyer, Erie Railroad, East Fifty-fifth St., Cleveland, O.; John H. Edwards, Newburyport, Mass.; Rev. R. B. Harris, Elizabeth, N. J.; Thos. B. R. Williams, Greenwich, Conn.; Fred D. Jones, Fremont, N. C.; W. H. Twine, attorney at law, Muskogee, Okla.; Maurice W. Spencer, Washington, D. C.; Isaac B. Allen, New York; E. B. Barco, Mass.; W. James, Ga.; Dr. F. N. Rogers, Fla.; Dr. P. A. Stephens, Tenn.; L. D. McIntire, Ky.; Rev. H. H. Jones, Woburn, Mass.; C. H. Henderson, Washington, D. C.; A. J. Smitherman, Tulsa, Okla.; F. L. Jackson, Thomasville, Ga.; J. Milton Waldron, Washington, D. C.; W. M. Trotter, Boston, Mass.; Daniel Freeman, Washington, D. C.; J. Finley Wilson, Washington, D. C.; M. F. Sydes, Providence, R. I.; E. W. Maxson, Pearlinton, Miss.; E. W. Williams, Washington, D. C.; Hubert Harrison, New York, N. Y.; J. W. Bell (secretary), Kentucky; M. Cravath Simpson, Cambridge, Mass.; W. C. Brown, Washington, D. C.; H. J. Callis, Washington, D. C.; T. J. Mopkins, District of Columbia; Louis A. Johnson, New Jersey; Mrs. Nellie Bent, Conn.; Rev. J. A. Owens, Ala.; Rev. R. D. Mason, Milton, N. C. and Va.; Rev. David Eato, N. Y.; W. C. Crosby, D. D., Ala.; Rev. C. F. Flipper, Trenton, N. J.; F. D. Waterford, Ark.; Harry J. Tolliver, 902 Chapel St., New Haven, Conn.; William A. Shields, Washington, D. C.; H. B. Bronson, Ark.; Edward C. Calvin, New York; Rev. Calvin D. Whitted, Conn.; Rev. James G. Goins, Washington, D. C.; Rev. M. J. Adams, D. D., Dothan, Ala.; Rev. I. N. Gooch; Rev. J. W. Weston, Ala.; J. A. Lankford, Ind.; M. H. James, Cambridge, Mass.; Thomas Walker; Rev. D. N. Tate, Baltimore, Md.; William Hester, Tenn.; Fred D. Jones, North Carolina; Hiram Cornway, Worcester, Mass.; W. T. McKissick, Delaware; E. H. Simms, Conn.; Annie E. Taylor, Washington, D. C.; Marion D. Butler, Washington, D. C.; Addie R. Clark, S. C.; Hiram Conway, Worcester, Mass.; Daniel L. Reed, Virginia; Allen W. Whaley, Boston, Mass.; A. C. Garner, Washington, D. C.

WHY THEY CAME NORTH

PROBLEMS THAT NEGROES CONFRONT.

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS

AUGUST 30, 1918

A certain but small number of negroes in the north took alarm when the influx of negroes from the south began. These had established themselves in full and comfortable enjoyment of their security and feared that their position would be imperiled by the outbursts of prejudice the swarms of migrants might arouse. But the majority manfully resolved to stand by their "unfortunate brethren" at all costs—"unfortunate brethren" being a term that was coined as if anew for the occasion and which seems to have been taken on much of the religious significance of those other more or less biblical phrases used by the migrants in the south, such as "I done come out of Beulah land." With real fervor those who long had resided in the land of freedom stretched forth the hand of welcome.

The more serious and sober of the race, however, recognized that there would be created new problems in the adjustment of these hosts of rustics to city and industrial life, and accordingly well thought out and organized efforts were put forth to meet the new situation. Churches threw their doors wide open and used all the influences at their command to prepare the migrants for the different economic, social and religious conditions of the north.

Philanthropic societies sprang up everywhere, though the brunt of the task made necessary by the migration fell on the twenty-seven branches of the National League on Urban Conditions. With the aim of working out the problems that the great increase in our colored population created for both colored and white the league called a conference in New York city that was attended by representative colored and white citizens of twenty northern and southern states. I held mass meetings, distributed educational literature, placed travelers' aid workers in the railroad stations, opened free employment bureaus and used to advantage the colored press for the dissemination of useful information.

The Urban League of Chicago sent the members of ninety colored clubs on a house to house tour of advice and instruction throughout the blocks where the migrants had settled. These visitors emphasized always the importance of hygiene and cleanliness and insisted that proper deportment in public places would have much to do with the treatment extended by the whites to the migrants.

In large plants and factories where many colored laborers were employed colored welfare workers were placed to work with the men, to study and interpret their wants and to act as a medium between the employer and his negro employees. Again to help the migrant bridge over the sudden change in the nature of his employment apprenticeship classes were started. In Detroit, where the most successful of such institutions was organized, a diploma was given the pupil when he had finished his course, which is to say on that day when he became the proud bearer of a letter from his employer stating that his work was up to mark and satisfactory.

But the difficulty of fitting the worker for his job was minor compared to the other difficulty of finding for him proper quarters in which to live after his day's work was done. For, taking it by and large in our great urban centers, the colored people can find residence only in those sections where property has begun to deteriorate. Afterward they are blamed for the deterioration. Meanwhile, as the white man moves his family out and the colored man moves all costs—"unfortunate brethren" being a term that was coined as if anew for the occasion and which seems to have been taken on much of the religious significance of those other more or less biblical phrases used by the migrants in the south, such as "I done come out of Beulah land." With real fervor those who long had resided in the land of freedom stretched forth the hand of welcome.

This list of activities is typical rather than exhaustive, recorded merely to show that the negro stands willing to carry out the program of self-help to the teaching of which his great leader, the late Booker T. Washington, devoted his life. But such a program, however complete—as the highly endowed intellect of W. G. Burghardt Du Bois was quick to perceive—is not sufficient. In his powerful and stirring book, "The Souls of Black Folk," he tells us that, "while it is a great truth to say that the negro must strive and strive mightily to help himself, it is equally true that, unless his striving be not simply seconded, but rather aroused and encouraged, by the initiative of the richer and wiser environing group, he cannot hope for great success."

For the burden, as Du Bois points out, developed from national conditions and belongs to the nation. Therefore he blames Washington for shifting it on the shoulders of his people and giving up certain political, civil and economic rights to obtain certain material and economic advantages. Washington's program, which Du Bois characterizes as one of adjustment and submission, was best summarized in that one sentence which the founder of Tuskegee delivered to an audience of whites and negroes at the Atlanta exposition: "In all things that are purely social we can be separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

This, Du Bois declares, "is to accept the alleged inferiority of the negro races and to withdraw many of the high demands of negroes as men and American citizens" at the cost of a manly self-respect. In a word, then, while paying just tribute to Booker T. Washington's sincerity and his noble achievements, Du Bois insists, in the homely phrase of Lincoln, that "no question is ever settled

until it is settled right." And our new democracy, leaving behind the big work of Booker T. Washington as a milestone passed on its rapid march, must range itself beside Du Bois and show its willingness and patience in bearing its just share of a national burden.

I. K. FRIEDMAN

THE RACE PROBLEM DISCUSSED BY FRIENDS

'Simply One of Prejudice,' Declares Dr. Jesse H. Holmes in Lecture

KEPT FROM OWN PLACE PHILA PA NORTH AMERICAN AUGUST 20, 1918

"The race problem is simply one of prejudice," declared Dr. Jesse H. Holmes yesterday in his lecture at the Young Friends' Association in the series on "Internationalism," being given under the auspices of the committee on peace and emergency service of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

Taking up first the negro in America as a problem to be considered. Doctor Holmes dwelt upon the way the negro in the south is exploited by the white because his ignorance renders him helpless, and he is thus kept in a state of servitude after the lapse of fifty years from date of physical freedom.

"Unwillingness," he continued, "to let the negro take the place for which he is fitted, in the south forces him north, and ultimately makes his presence more desired in the south."

The way in which the situation can be met, in Doctor Holmes' opinion, is to have the negro take his place on the basis of fitness and ability without regard to race. "This," he said, "would cut out most of the negro people we must admit, but it would not condemn the unusual ability, really superior, to be classed with the inferior majority."

"We have no objection to association with the negro," he declared. "We do not object to him in a Pullman car with us, provided he is there as a porter and not as a sleeper we do not object to him in the dining car, provided he is back of our chair instead of beside us. Superiority and inferiority are facts, and no scheme can make them so except the person himself."

"It is cruelty to block the negro, every opportunity should be given; he has never had the chance we have and yet men of genius have proven themselves despite the handicap of color."

"The only way out is by justice. Let the demand for him be so great that he will be important, and so given consideration."

In dealing with Japanese and Chinese as problems the speaker asserted that "the United States record for treaty-breaking has not been equaled by any nation on earth and should make us humble in condemnation of others." He referred to America's treatment of the Indian.

NEGROES TO HOLD RACE CONFERENCES

Plans Perfected By Richard Carroll to Hold Conferences

In Different Sections

GREENVILLE S. C. NEWS

AUGUST 25, 1918

WANT WHITE SPEAKERS

Many leading negroes suggested to the Rev. Richard Carroll that the Race Conference be held in different sections of the state making certain counties as centers and have delegates from adjoining counties attend the meeting nearest them. The 13th annual session of the Race Conference was to be held in Columbia but was called off, and Richland county with Columbia as the center has been grouped with other counties near. The State Council of Defense will be given a place on the program at each meeting and it is hoped that Mr. D. R. Coker and Mr. William Elliott will furnish white speakers.

Friday, March 1st—Greenwood, (center) Laurens, Abbeville and McCormick.

Monday, March 4th—Florence, (center) Marion, Darlington, Marlboro, Horry, Williamsburg and Chesterfield.

Wednesday, March 6th—Lancaster (center) Kershaw.

Thursday, March 7th—Gaffney, (center) Union and Spartanburg.

Friday, March 8th—Greenville, (center) Oconee, Pickens and Anderson.

Monday, March 11th—Sumter (center) Lee and Clarendon.

Wednesday, March 13th—Richland (Columbia center) Lexington, Newberry, Fairfield, Calhoun, Saluda and Edgefield.

Friday, March 15th—Bamberg, (center) Barnwell and Aiken.

Monday, March 18th—Beaufort, (center) Jasper and Hampton.

Tuesday, March 19th—Charleston (center) Colleton, Dorchester, Berkeley, Georgetown.

Friday, March 22nd—Rock Hill (center) Chester and York.

Among the colored speakers are: R. W. Westberry, Sumter, S. C.; Bishop W. D. Chappelle, Columbia, S. C.; Jonas Thomas, Bennettsville, S. C.; Rev. A. G. Kennedy, Aiken, S. C.; Bishop R. B. Bruce, Charlotte, N. C.; Rev. P. P. Watson, Columbia, S. C.; Rev. Richard Carroll and others.

"KEEP THE NEGRO IN HIS PLACE"

2nd Dec. 7th May 18, 1918

The Negro should be kept in his place. The thing to do is to see to it that he is taught his place. Then see that he keeps it. Too many Negroes either do not know their place, or, knowing it, willfully neglect to keep it. I quite agree with the declaration of the reactionary propa-

gandist "keep the Negro in his place," but differ widely with their purpose and their designation of what or where his place is.

The Constitution of the United States has fixed his place. His place as a citizen is well defined. He must not under any circumstances occupy any other place. The place is his purchased with his blood, and he should suffer the greatest privation and make the greatest sacrifice to keep it.

He who would indicate or point out any other place for his occupancy is to be shunned as a deadly plague. He is a Bolshevik, and will strip him of his rights as guaranteed by the Constitution.

The place for him to occupy is the place that his valor on a hundred battlefields has won. The place that his labor and toil, first as a slave, and then as a freeman, has earned for him. His worth as a man capable of thinking, planning, creating, stamps him as inferior to none. He is in his proper place now in Europe battling valiantly for the freedom of humanity, and in America aiding in every conceivable way to defeat the aims and designs of a haughty despotism; a despotism that would enslave the entire civilized world; a despotism more terrible and cruel than the one which once held him slave.

In all ages man's status in his state is fixed by his heroism and valor in time of war. The old feudal system of England, whence comes our laws touching real property, is based on this theory. Lands and rights were granted by the conquering lords to their knights for service thus well rendered. The Negro, from the early colonial wars to the fight of Carrizal in Mexico, has covered himself with glory. Thus his deeds of heroism in time of war and his sturdy qualities in time of peace have amply established his claim to place amongst the foremost in the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship.

—Wm. T. Wilson.

We have often referred to the writings of H. L. Mencken. His English is a mental cocktail, an intellectual electric shock. Anybody who habitually dozes over conventional English ought to take Mencken at least once a week in order to keep the moss and cobwebs out of their brains. Mr. Mencken writes excellently on a wider range of subjects than any other one writer in the United States, and whatever his topic may be, he is always interesting. But he is at his best when he is talking about the theatre or literature or music or philosophy or feminism or criticism. On these subjects he is an authority.

The chief charm of Mencken is that he always has a fresh point of view on even the oldest subject. If the subject is one that does not admit of a fresh point of view, Mencken does not touch it, he considers it as already finished, exhausted; as a subject to be left in an embalmed state in the tomb of literature. It is into this very pit that Mencken always avoids that so many writers fall; they do not even know when a subject is exhausted. For that reason so many fledgling poets attempt to write odes to birds and flowers (skylarks, nightingales, daisies and roses), not realizing that Keats and Shelley and Burns and a host of others have done the job to a finish.

Mencken's style is all his own; nobody in the country writes like him. Sometimes we know that he is laughing at his readers, and sometimes we suspect that he is laughing at himself. We might call him a humorous cynic; and when he is most cynical, he is most enjoyable. He is the cleverest writer in America to-day.

But those who look merely for cleverness in Mencken are missing the best part of him; **the best part of Mencken is truth.** He gets at truth because he is devoid of the sentimental and mawkish morality which seems to be the curse of nearly everybody who writes in the English language. In other words, he is free and is therefore not afraid to write the truth. Many a writer is sincere enough, but bound by so many traditions and conventions that he cannot write the truth. Mencken pays no regard to traditions and convention as such; he has absolutely no respect for them merely on account of their age.

The other day we picked up an article headed, "Mr. Cabell of Virginia." The article was by H. L. Mencken. Of course we were at once interested in Mr. Cabell because Mr. Mencken was talking about him. The article was a critical estimate of Mr. Cabell's work as a novelist. We know very little about that work, never having read any of Mr. Cabell's books; but Mr. Mencken puts high value on him, and we have made up our mind to read at least one of those books at the first opportunity. The critic gives as one of the reasons why Cabell should be read the following: "he is the only indubitably literate man left in the late Confederate States of America." Then he goes on to say:

Let the last consideration engage us first. What I mean to say is that Cabell is the only first-rate literary craftsman that the whole South can show. In all that vast region, with its 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 people and its territory as large as half a dozen Frances or Germanys, he is the only author worth a damn—almost the only one who can write at all. The spectacle is so strange that I can't keep my eyes from it. Imagine an empire as huge as the Holy Roman, and with no more literature than Pottstown, Pa., or Summit, N. J.—not a poet, not a serious historian, not a critic good or bad, not a dramatist dead or alive, and but one novelist!

Then Mr. Mencken takes up the question of the lack or rather the absence of literary men and women in the South, and says:

The causes of this paucity I have hitherto discussed and guessed at. Perhaps the soundest theory is that which holds that the civil war destroyed the whole civilization of the region and well nigh exterminated the civilized southerner. The few who survived came North, leaving the soil to the Ethiop and the poor white trash. The latter now struggle for

possession in the manner of dogs and cats, with the odds increasingly in favor of the black. Of the two, he alone shows any cultural advance; he begins to produce artists, and even sages. But the poor white trash, now politically dominant in all the southern states, produce only traders, schemers, politicians and reformers—in brief, bounders.

There is an interesting question raised here. Why is it that the South produces no first-rate literature? As Mr. Mencken says, this whole wide region with "not a poet, not a serious historian, not a critic good or bad, not a dramatist dead or alive." We think we can shed a little light on this question. Mr. Mencken thinks the condition may be due to the fact that "the Civil War destroyed the whole civilization of the region and well nigh exterminated the civilized Southerner." But why should not the poor white trash produce something? Is it possible that they can be so innately inferior to the Southern aristocracy? Were they any more handicapped than the "Ethiop," who, Mr. Mencken says "alone shows any cultural advance"?

We do not think that the destruction of the old Southern civilization or any innate inferiority of the poor white trash is the reason; **the real reason is that the white South of to-day is using up every bit of its mental energy in this terrible race struggle.** All of the mental efforts of the white South run through one narrow channel; the life of every Southern white man as a man and a citizen, most of his financial activities and all of his political activities are impassably limited by the ever present "Negro problem." All of the mental power of the white South is being used up in holding the Negro back, and that is the reason why it does not produce either great literature or great statesmen or great wealth. That is, the white South is less intensely interested in forging ahead than it is in keeping the Negro from forging ahead. Witness: in Alabama there is opposition to a compulsory education law because under it Negro children would be compelled to go to school.

On the other hand, the Negro is not using up any of his strength in trying to hold anybody back, he is using every ounce of it to move forward himself. His face is front and toward the light; when the white man tries to force him back he, the white man, turns from the light and faces backward. Unless the white people of the South right-about on this question, the Negro will in the long run distance them in all the higher and finer achievements.

WHAT WILL THE NEGRO GET OUT OF IT?

The Christian Recorder
Mar. 7, 1918.

We have had a lot of talk about what the Negro is to get out of this war. Most of it has been based on **good desire, blind faith**, etc. The Negro has left his case in other hands.

Now we are here to state that after this war the state of the Negro will be worse than it has ever been unless the Negro takes his case in hand NOW.

Do you ask why? Read history. We fought in the Revolutionary War for the principle, "All men are created free and equal," and "taxation without representation is tyranny," but after that war we did not get freedom, and we were continually taxed without any representation.

Then came the War of 1812. We were with Perry on Lake Erie, and with Andrew Jackson at New Orleans. But after it all, the slaves chains were welded tighter, and the constitutional provision to prohibit the slave trade after 1808 was disregarded. We went with Zachary Taylor into Mexico, and helped to gain Texas for the Union, but after it was all over Texas came in as a slave state and Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Law to make slavery more secure. Then came the War of the Rebellion. We fought nearly 200,000 strong. True, we got our freedom, and in a moment of gratitude and for selfish advantage, we were given the ballot only to have it taken away.

All of us remember the Spanish-American War. No soldiers came out of that war with greater glory than our own Tenth Cavalry. Men predicted that a new era of peace and good-will among the races would follow. But they left too much to the good white folks, and what happened? The Negro militia nearly all over the South was disbanded, and the people who had won glory in arms, were practically disarmed; the Lily Whites rose up to put Negroes out of the little politics left to them, and laws of disfranchisement not only continued but new methods of humiliation were invented in separate street car laws, residential segregation, etc.; and burning instead of shooting became a favorite method of showing Negroes their places.

Now those who think that the millenium is going to come after this war when the black man will come into his own, have neither read the history of the past or the signs of the times. So, having considered history,

let us look hastily at the signs of the times.

First, who runs the government? Answer: The South—the Negroes, best (?) friends, who robbed him of his ballot, rob him of his school privileges, take away his life and property without due process of law, etc., etc., and the Southern pulpit hardly protests. It was bad with the Republicans in office after the Spanish-American War; what may you expect from Democrats—not of the Cleveland type, but of the Vardaman-Tillman type? Figure out how things will be better.

No. 2. Don't be led astray by high sounding generalization. the phrase "All men are created equal" was interpreted not to mean Negroes. After we entered the Cuban War "for humanity's sake," we found we could not enter Georgia to protect Negroes "for humanity's sake." And so don't put too much stress upon making the world safe for democracy when it comes to reading Negroes into it.

No. 3. The Allies are going to win this war unless the Germans win within the next eight months, which is impossible. It will be America which will decide the war, and America which will dominate the Allies, and the Democrats of America who have hardly emerged from provincialism, will become in a remarkably short time the dominant force in the world. It takes but a very superficial knowledge of psychology to predict what will happen. The South will be more outspoken than ever before. It will be more welded to southern policy than ever before. When Woodrow Wilson became President was that not a signal to segregate Negroes in the national capital and to put them out of office? If national success brought this state of things what will not world success bring?

Now we predict that the condition of the Negro will be most pitiable after the war unless the Negro acts. The Negro should be loyal. There should be no Negro slackers. Negroes should go willingly to the front; for this is our country, it matters not how badly we are treated. We should give our labor to the country. The war cannot be won without labor any more than it can without soldiers. As we have never before been in the rank of slackers or traitors we cannot now. But we must do more than that. We will not be true to our country if we do not take advantage of this opportunity to help her at home as well as abroad.

What can the Negro do? Look and see what organized labor is doing and get the cue. To demand fair play while we fight and work is not to be disloyal, while not to do so is to be unfair to ourselves and our nation. The Negro should demand:

- (1) National aid to education on the basis of illiteracy.
- (2) The enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.
- (3) Proper school equipment under present conditions; better school housing and better pay for teachers. It is a notorious shame that Negro school principals are making less than day laborers, and that even as we fight and work our children are robbed of their rights.
- (4) Participation in rural credits for farmers.
- (5) Adequate accommodations on railroads.
- (6) Jury service in all courts.
- (7) Lynching to be made a federal offense.

There should be a united effort on the part of all Negro organizations and those representing Negroes toward the ends above set forth. A national conference should be held in Washington or somewhere, and our case thought out carefully and presented to this nation. The job is too big for any one organization, or clique or party. It is one in which selfishness should not enter. It calls for the broadest statesmanship.

In no case can we continue to pursue the laissez-faire course we are now pursuing. If we do not do our part we shall be left out; that's all. Think it over.

TWO ANTITHESIS.

There died last week, within twenty-four hours of each other, two men, both of whom were known, at least by name, throughout the country. The first to die was Dr. Washington Gladden, the great Congregational minister, author and philosopher, who died at Columbus, Ohio. The second to die was Benjamin R. Tillman, United States Senator from South Carolina. Each had passed the allotted three score and ten.

At one time, when a group of colored people in Columbus, Ohio, desired to establish a Colored Congregational Church they sought Dr. Gladden, pastor of the largest and most notable white Congregational Church in Ohio, for encouragement. His reply was this terse sentence: "So long as there are vacant pews in my church I will not favor a separate church for colored."

Dr. Gladden was never one of those super-enthusiastic agitators for equal rights and privileges for the race, but he was a staunch believer in the Constitution, and regarded that instrument as one which conferred EQUAL RIGHTS upon ALL American citizens, without reference to color or race, and he never, during his eighty-two years of living, gave utterance to a single sentence designed to be hurtful to our race. To him the color of a man's skin was simply the design of the same God who gave to him his white skin, and it neither gave to the man special privileges or denied to him equal privileges.

Senator Tillman never lost an opportunity to assail the race; to discredit it in the eyes of the world. Until God, in His "mysterious way his wonders to perform," paralyzed the tongue that had denounced a struggling race which had done naught to Senator Tillman save to till his soil, and make it possible for him to represent his state in the United States Senate by a denial of suffrage, from the far South to the far North, he bitterly traduced us—and for pay. When that vile tongue was touched with paralysis, it was stilled for a while. But when he had partially recovered from his first paralytic stroke, he again resorted to bitter denunciation of a patient, long-suffering, loyal people.

Dr. Washington Gladden, perhaps the most famous and most widely known of ministers, always spoke encouragingly of and for our race. Although a cold, calculating, analytical student, he never designedly erected a single bar to race advancement; he rather pulled down bars which hedged it in.

Benjamin R. Tillman, perhaps as superficial a man as ever represented a sovereign state in the United States Senate, always spoke discouragingly of and for the race—never opened his mouth to discuss the race but he denounced it in bitterest terms, merely for cheap notoriety, and to satisfy and promote his political ambitions. He piled high the very bars which Dr. Gladden would have leveled down.

When death paused at the bedside of Dr. Gladden to seal lips which had never uttered a single hurtful word against our race, the smile which covered his visage told how sweet to him had been the satisfaction of living a life of helpfulness to ALL MANKIND, and when life had left that body, weighted down with eighty-two years, a voice murmured: "Well done My good and faithful servant," and a suffering race wept o'er his parting.

When death paused at the bedside of Benjamin R. Tillman to forever silence the tongue which had for years, without rhyme or reason—without cause—assailed our race from the lakes to the gulf; which had espoused legislation designed to turn back the hands on the clock for us, there was NOT A SINGLE moist eye in any of the three million colored homes in this broad land. On the contrary, every colored person, when Senator Tillman's death was announced, believed, more than ever, that God does answer prayers.

Because of his goodness of heart; his calm, long helpful life, recognizing men for their worth and merit, despite the color of their skin, and believing justice had been designed as a legacy for ALL MEN, the late Dr. Washington Gladden was the antithesis of Benjamin R. Tillman.

Because in his heart there was no place—no sympathy for such as whom God had created with darker skin; because he used his position and prestige to dethrone justice for a race which had earned it by faithful allegiance to country and state; by fighting for it on a hundred battlefields, Benjamin R. Tillman was the antithesis of Dr. Washington Gladden.

For the one for whom we have tears, and for the one for whom we HAVE NO TEARS to shed, we can at least say, "Rest in peace, God's will be done."

"ETHICAL ASPECT OF NEGRO QUESTION"

Tulane Lecturer Says "Group Ideas" of Races Cannot

Be Merged
NEW ORLEANS, LA., MARCH 8, 1918

Professor M. T. McClure lectured at Tulane University Thursday night on "The Ethical Aspect of the Negro Question." For that question the professor had no solution to offer; in fact, he held it to be insoluble. There were two treatments of the question that he considered: One, the paternal or caste system by which the negro is to be frankly treated as an inferior race and developed with that idea in mind, and the other, the idea, that has been adopted in this country, of making him a citizen, equal before the law with the dominant race.

He said the negro had never yet assimilated the "group ideas" of the white race, and never would. What the negro had done and would continue to do was to imitate the whites in externals, but his habit of thought and his view of moral and other questions would remain distinct and different from that of the whites. He dwelt on the injustice of expecting the negro to become a citizen and then not furnishing him with the means of citizenship, but he did not know how these means were to be supplied.

The professor drew on the blackboard two circles, both labeled "group ideas." One was the "group ideas" of the whites and the other the "group ideas" of the negroes. These two groups could never be merged, he admitted, and his idea was to develop the negro within his own zone. That this could be done was a matter for doubt, because, while the white knew that the negro could only be developed within his own zone of thought, the negro would insist on being transferred to the white zone, and there developed. He thought the line of least resistance would be to get acquainted with the ignorant negro preacher, study his habit of thought and attempt to develop that thought within the limits fixed by nature.

NEGRO RACE MEETING

MARCH 6, 1918

Conference at Florence, S. C. rees to Cooperate for Defense.

Special to The State.

Florence, March 5.—A negro race conference, comprising all the counties of the Pee Dee section, has been in session here today with Richard Carroll of Columbia as the moving spirit. Leading ministers and laymen of the race were here in large numbers from all over the section. It is estimated that fully 1,500 colored people attended one or more of the three sessions held today. It has been decided to make Florence the permanent Pee Dee meeting place for future race conferences. Carroll announced today that the meetings at Charleston, Beaufort and Greenville had been called off. Meetings will be held as follows: Gaffney, March 7; Sumter, March 11; Columbia, March 13; Bamberg, March 15; Greenwood, March 20; Lancaster, March 22. Mrs. Annie I. Rembert, field secretary of the South Carolina Sanatorium and Anti-Tuberculosis Association, made addresses at each session of the conference. As a result of the race conference there will be formed in each county a defense council to co-operate with the white council of defense.

JUNE 6, 1918

that week only four rivets were cut out. Charles Knight, another negro, made one of the early American shipyard records at riveting, with his negro team. Beckles has now been called in the draft and his only desire is for a contest before he leaves against Charles Pavalick of the federal shipbuilding company, who holds the world's record in a nine-hour day. He says he is an American through and through, and he would have volunteered long ago, had he not thought that his country needed his seventeen years' experience in shipbuilding more than it needed his presence in a training camp. He will find many to agree with him. It is to be hoped that he will be returned to riveting before he dons the uniform.

The negro problem has always been one to be solved only by time, opportunity and patience. The opportunity of the war has presented itself to the negro and so far he has made

good. It is most likely that he will continue to do so.

THE NEGRO'S PART IN THE WORLD'S GREAT WAR

Atlanta Independent 3-16-18

AFTER THE WAR

When one reads the curious remarks and comments made by many of the newspapers in this country, especially in the South, he wonders what it is all about. They speak as if they are surprised at the loyalty and patriotism displayed by black men. They comment upon it as if it is something new under the sun. They could not talk differently if this had been the first time that the Negro had been called to arms and displayed for the first time his gallantry and love of country. Even in 1863, when the 54th Massachusetts responded to the call of arms by Abraham Lincoln to fight for country and his own emancipation, even that was no strange phenomenon.

In the French and Indian War the Negro was there willingly doing his part; in the war of Independence they proved valuable aids to George Washington, the father of his country; in the war of 1812 General Andrew Jackson attests to the loyalty and bravery of black soldiers in the battle of New Orleans against the British. During the Civil War Negroes were true and loyal, both on the Union and Confederate sides. He has never been known to be a quitter; he has always been known to be a fighter, and yet these strange and surprising remarks are made as though it is something new under the sun that he displays such rare qualities of patriotism and gallantry in the present world conflict. It makes us tired to hear it, and it is no compliment, because whenever the Negro has been called to duty and arms he has come up to the very highest standard. Nobody knows this better than white folks, but it is always strange and surprising, although he has been displaying these qualities of fidelity, patriotism and gallantry ever since he landed on the shores of America in 1619.

We suppose that this arises from the fact that our white fellow citizens are conscious that no other race under similar circumstances, treated and buffeted about like the Negro, deprived of many of the commonest rights due to American citizens, discriminated against in nearly everything that pertains to public institutions and utilities, humiliated beyond language to portray, would be so willing to sacrifice and even to lay down their lives for country in the face of such harsh and inhuman treatment. For the dirtiest and filthiest foreign vagabond is treated better than the most intelligent, law-abiding and respectable Negro citizen. In traveling over the country he cannot even get a decent berth in which to sleep; many times he is jerked up in the middle of the night and made to go back into some filthy jim-crow car, set aside as they say, for "niggers." Our women are humiliated in more ways than it is possible to tell here. Their ambition to measure up to the high standard of intelligence and decency is looked down upon by their white neighbors. They are often humiliated and embarrassed by being called "Auntie or Jane or Sookie" without the slightest acquaintance with them whatever. And these same black men who are fighting for their country against the Central Powers, no matter what rank they hold in the army, are never called anything but Jim, John or Bill; in fact, everything is done to remind you that you are a "nigger" and an inferior. They always refer to the most eminent black man or woman as though they were kids or children, and when they are praised it is as one would praise a good old horse or cow.

And they are always holding up the old darkey, who lived in slavery time as an example for the young to follow, because they knew nothing else but to obey their masters and mistresses, and they hold this up as an example for the young Negro to follow.

Our white neighbors seem to forget that men, as well as things, change in obedience to the laws of evolution; that men and races do not stand still, but they either go forward or backward. In the long run they go forward. The new Negro can no more be like the ante-bellum Negro than the white man of today can be like his ancestors in the middle ages. The ante-bellum Negro had no will of his own; he knew nothing but to obey his master. The doors of knowledge was closed against him and it was a crime for him to learn to read and write. The Negro of today has access to some of the best schools and colleges in the country, and trained and taught in the best things handed down to civilization. Everything, by day and by night, teaches him that he is made in the image of God, and that he is master of his fate and possessor of his own soul, and it is as much impossible to conquer that spirit in him as it is to turn the Mississippi River up stream.

The Negro of today is keeping steady pace with other progressive peoples of the world. He is self-respecting, and learning decency and loyalty like other people. In the steady march of progress he is playing his part; he is an integral part of the world's civilization, and shall do his duty as a man and as a patriot and shall expect the reward of duty well performed. He yields to no other race in devotion to country, and is perfectly willing to do his part in making the world safe for all peoples. He believes thoroughly in the doctrine of the Bible, that "Out of one blood God made all men to dwell upon the face of the earth"; that men are to be judged, not by their color, for there are good and bad in all races, but upon their merit. By this he is willing to stand or fall, for he feels abundantly able to take care of himself or report to God the reason why.

The same grievous lack of prescience which in the past has made futile our political aims and activities is now being displayed in the economical situation as it will affect us after the war.

The farthest that Negro "leaders" and "leaderettes" can see at this time is the present prosperity and numerous opportunities of the Race in the industrial field left short-handed by the white man. But as to the situation that will be created when the War is over and millions of white men return to, while hundreds of thousands of white women remain in, the industrial field—why, "they are no prophets." Negro "leaders" never are prophets in the sense that President Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and other white men are to their respective peoples!

Yet it is quite plain to the student of the American Race Question that the Negroes will be returned at the close of the war to the insignificant and degraded position in the field of economics that they occupied before the beginning of hostilities and the cutting off of immigration. In fact, they will be worse off after the war than before the war. The great war industries now employing them by the thousands will be shut down, partially or completely. Most of the jobs held by women will be retained by that sex. Those that are surrendered will be occupied by the returning white soldiers and by the renewed flood of white immigrants.

What this means to the continued existence of the Negro Race is not generally understood by Negro leaders, who, as a rule, do not study history and therefore cannot know what exactly such a condition of affairs has meant to other races in the past. Yet, it is generally recognized, outside of the Negro Race, that economic defeat leads up to racial extinction. Frank Fox in "Problems of the Pacific" is only one of many eminent white authors who, in their writings, show a recognition of this fact. Says Mr. Fox:

"Viewed in the light of abstract logic, it seems the quaintest of paradoxes that the very act of production of the comforts and necessities of life can be considered, under any circumstances, a hostile one. Viewed in the light of the actual living facts of the day, it is one of the clearest of truths that a nation and a race may be attacked and dragged down through its industries, and that national greatness is lost and won in destructive competition in the workshops of the world. That industry itself may be turned to bad account is another proof that an age, in which there is much talk of peace, is still governed in the main by the ideas of warfare."

And B. L. Putnam Weale referring in "The Conflict of Colour" to the "menace" to the white man of the great progress being made by the native races of Africa and Asia, shows that he recognizes this fact by the statement: "For after having suffered economic death—and THEREFORE virtual racial extinction in most of the regions referred to—it will be one day counted one of the most remarkable facts of the twentieth century that the man of colour has at last completely recovered himself, and is forcing the pendulum to stand still, if not actually to swing back."

Only Negro "leaders" are blind to the teachings of history and the trend of events.

If the Negro Race in America is to escape "economic death" and therefore racial extinction, it is time that the moneyed people of the Race—especially those passing as "leaders" and leaderettes"—got together and took definite steps towards preparing the Race for the economic struggle that will follow the signing of peace. This can best be done by the building of factories and the opening up of Negro-controlled industries, together with the founding of scholarships or the establishment of schools where ambitious Negro boys and girls can obtain free tuition in the professions and trades.

Surely moneyed Negro men and women who have the interests of the Race at heart will get together on this or some other plan to meet the menace of the future, before economic death brings on virtual racial extinction!

Race Problem - 1918

United States

A MAN BIG, BROAD AND FEARLESS enough to give expression to his views when those views are unpopular with the general public is a man indeed in every sense of the word. Most people find it easier to travel the beaten path, the path that offers the least resistance. That is why many of our men in the ministry are in reality wolves in sheep's clothing. That is why so many dissolutions occur in the church. The leader of the flock tempers his sermons to suit modern-day methods. If the people or some of the people are prejudiced the "keep out" notice is given would-be worshipers of the darker hue and they must seek a "Jim Crow" section or go perhaps several miles to one of their own churches, and this is what is called religion.

Fortunately there are men who call a spade a spade regardless of the consequences. Such a man is Edmund Janes James, president of the University of Illinois. It is with pleasure we quote from a recent speech, the subject of which was "What the United States Has Achieved in War Activities and Moral Leadership"; "There is another side from which our participation in this war may bring us satisfaction and hope. The advantage of victory will not redound merely to the Pole, the Bohemian, the Slovak, the Serb, but also, and in no less degree, to the subjects of other governments.

"We Americans cannot in good conscience and with self-respect line up for freedom and fair treatment for the Pole and Serbian without forming a new and more potent resolution that the Negro, the Porto Rican and the Filipino shall have no reasonable cause of complaint under our government. We cannot insist that the German government shall secure political rights to the common man without resolving anew that the ordinary civil rights shall be secured to all citizens alike, no matter what their color or race or previous condition of servitude, without determining that mobs and lynching parties shall have an end throughout the broad territory subject to the jurisdiction of the republic.

"On the Fourth of July, 1776, a representative body of American colonists announced to the world a thesis for the defense of which they pledged their lives and fortunes and sacred honor. This thesis was that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. None of these men found it particularly inconsistent with the above thesis to hold human slaves in a peculiarly debasing form of bondage known as African slavery. Such a practice was, of course, not consistent with the profession given above, and when this profession was once made, so great is the power of the winged word that the practice had to cease in time or the profession had to be renounced.

"In spite of that magnificent announcement in the Declaration of Independence it was nearly ninety years before we in this country were willing to draw the logical conclusion and to take the decisive step in our own policy so imperatively called for by the sentiments and language of this declaration. Eighty-five years after the Declaration of Independence was given to the world a considerable proportion of the intelligent, liberty-loving, warm-hearted American citizens pledged their lives and fortunes and sacred honor to a war in defense of this same institution of African slavery. This war and our relation to it will put a new and larger meaning into this great Declaration of which every American should be proud and which every American should be determined to help realize to the fullest possible extent. We shall come to understand more fully than we do now that the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are not mere negative rights, but positive rights, calling not merely for inaction, but for positive policies on the part of society that they may be fully realized." Further we sayeth not.

THE COLOR LINE MENACE.

There is one suggestion in connection with the Estill Springs torturing and burning at the stake by a white mob of an alleged Negro murderer that we have not seen touched upon, but which should be emphasized and driven into our people in the interest of putting an end to lynch law, if nothing else.

This is the menace it holds for us of the future. It is the suggestion of the menace to the peace and security of our children and of our children's children that is contained in the atrocities of our lawless elements of today as the fruit is germinant in the bud.

If it be the unalterable law for people as for individuals that he who

sows the wind shall reap the whirlwind, what a fearful reckoning we of today must be piling up for some of us or for some of our flesh and blood at some period to pay? For not alone are the ignorant, the vicious, the irresponsible people who compose the mobs that take the law into their own hands and commit deeds of cruelty and fiendishness that would blanch the face of the red Indian at fault, but the more intelligent among us, the better classes, as we call them, of our people, our public authorities, our courts and our juries are to blame for their reprehensible weakness and dereliction in failing to handle and deal out justice to the perpetrators, thus encouraging an evil that may grow into or some day precipitate a conflagration.

The color line problem is recognized in high and authoritative sociological circles to be the problem of the twentieth century.

The race problem is considered to be the most difficult, delicate and complex problem that has ever been set a people to master. It is the problem of two totally diverse races of people, ethnologically speaking, living side by side in industrial and political intercourse, but socially separate and distinct as the gulf stream in the sea. For it is the determined purpose of the more numerous and dominant race that never shall the two bloods socially commingle and commute their pure strains into a base mongrel alloy. This is the time-developed and matured purpose and decision of the white race, and objection to this decision among the black race, if any there be, has little substance and root to it. We think we understand the Negro character enough to know that the self-respecting portion of the race, at least, will be well content to keep to their own kind if they are permitted to live in peace and comfort under just laws and equitable conditions. These laws and conditions they are entitled to enjoy and should enjoy. It is the obligation, as it is the privilege, of the dominant race to give them the benefit and protection of these laws and conditions. Woe be to the white race if they abdicate—if their rulers and lawmakers fail in this test of their capacity to solve the race problem and to govern their people wisely and well. For if we sow the wind we can not hope to escape the whirlwind.

The race problem, we would suggest here parenthetically, is one that should be made matter for special study and advisement in the interest of the whole people when our attention can once more be concentrated upon our internal and domestic concerns. An appeal has been made to President Wilson to take some action in connection with this mob horror that has shamed the name of Tennessee before the world, but the President is bound more than others by the restraints of our dual system of government. Under the limitations of the federal system and under the comity which the distinct powers of government are bound, the President is secluded from interfering in the internal affairs and course of justice of a sovereign state. And yet the subject is one that might well call for the thought and suggestion of the great mind of the President when his hands are freed from the more urgent engagements of this critical time.

The Negro Race Conference

To Be Held in Piedmont Section of South Carolina—Greenwood the

First Meeting Friday, March

1st, 10:30 A. M.

UNION S. C. STATES

FEBRUARY 21, 1918

Many prominent Negroes of South Carolina suggested that the meeting be held in different section of the State and we have the same, colored and white—who are to speak in Columbia Wednesday, March 13th. This plan will save money and time. The meeting are as follows:

Greenwood, Friday, March 1st at Morris Chapel Baptist church at 10:30 a. m. Rev. T. M. Boykin, Greenwood, chairman local committee. Greenwood is grouped with N. W. Edgefield, McCormick, Abbeville and Laurens counties.

Other meetings are to be held in Gaffney Thursday, March 7th; the counties in this group are Cherokee,

Union and Spartanburg. Meeting at Greenville Friday, March 8th; counties included Greenville, Oconee, Pickens and Anderson.

Meeting at Lancaster Wednesday, March 6th; counties included Lancaster and Kershaw.

Rock Hill meeting Friday, March 22nd; counties included Chester and York.

The speakers will be the best white and colored in the State among the important subjects to be discussed are Food Production, Food Conservation and How Those Who Stay at Home can Help Win the War.

For information the people in the Piedmont section can write:

Rev. T. M. Boykin, Greenwood, S. C. Rev. J. O. Allen, Greenville, S. C. Rev. S. J. Lipscomb, Gaffney, S. C. Rev. R. J. Crockett, Blacksburg, S.

Rev. J. A. Tillman, Lancaster, S. C. Rev. H. S. McMullen, Lancaster, S.

I will thank the white people to assist us in advertising these meetings. We expect Mr. D. R. Coker, Mr. W. W. Long, Clemson College and R. W. Westberry to speak at all these meetings.

Richard Carroll.

Pres. Negro Race Conference. Columbia, S. C.

SOUTHERNERS SAY NEW NEGRO PROBLEM COMES AFTER WAR

SPRINGFIELD REGISTER
JANUARY 27, 1918

Private I. D. Taubeneck of Bloomington, now at Camp Shelby, Miss., writes of another problem that the southerner is fearing after the war. He says that he rode in a train beside a southern woman and in her conversation she voiced the following plaint:

She says the negro problem will be next to deal with after this, and suspects they will needs be deported, or at least segregated. She says already this war has caused southern women to do more of their own work, for the 'niggah' women are so impudent from their increased independence caused by allotments from negro soldiers that the white women won't have them around. Heretofore the 'niggah' women made the living, for the men would blow in all they had. The south yet looks upon 'niggah' as fit only for servants to the whites. "Give them a razor and take their guns and they'll make better soldiers" she said.

Rights of Negroes.

BROOKLYN N. Y. EAGLE
APRIL 19, 1918

[The Court of Appeals having limited the rights of negroes under the old law, Assemblyman Johnson, himself an ex-slave, got through a broader law just signed by the Governor.—News.]

No theater now, and no saloon,
Though finest of the fine.
My wreck equality's rare boom
Or draw the color line.

In "Movies," restaurants and shops,
In circuses, et cetera.
All race distinction custom drops
Though narrow folk may fret.

And yet the negroes whom you know
And those of memory, too,
Will generally more gladly go
To Hudson avenue.

For fresh restraints that may be tried
On whites, the solon delves.
But negroes who are dignified
Will segregate themselves. J. A.

Race Problem - 1918

United States

RE-ADJUSTMENT—WHAT IT MEANS TO THE NEGRO.

The crisis is upon us—Re-adjustment problems confront the American Government—the American people at home. In these problems the Negro plays a dual part, all questions effecting white men, white women, white children, and white interests will receive without the least question their just and due consideration in every detail as applies to individuals, sexes, classes and body politic, and in which the Negro is expected to concur, yea, aid in effecting these settlements in which he will share a minimum and remote benefit.

Star of Zion 11-14-18

But there are grave and vital problems of his own in addition to those of a common citizenship and general interest. They are termed "Race Problems" in which the average white citizens of any section of the country are little interested except to "wish the Negro well." The happy conditions brought about by the fortunes of war should be equally shared in their benefits by all the people who contributed to their attainment. But will this prove the case? Will the Negro be accorded his share in these benefits? No more sincere loyalty, patriotic devotion, ready response to the government's every call in economic conservation, maintenance of every National interest, self-sacrifice and devout solicitude at home was ever recorded in our National life than that demonstrated by our Negro citizens during this world conflict—no greater gallantry, heroism, military skill and adaptability was ever displayed on any battle field of the American Republic than is recorded by our Black Heroes and sons of the Republic displayed on the battle fields of France.

In the Civil War 200,000 brave Negro troops fought primarily for the liberation of their race from American slavery; in this great World conflict they fought with equal interest for World Democracy—HUMANITY, the highest interest of the human race. Shall they share in the benefits of that for which they fought, bled, died, and won?

Lynching—(America's pastime human butchery,) segregation, disfranchisement, peonage, jim-crowism and prosercription, are not factor principles included in the idea of World Democracy as applied to the white man, but in our American life of equality, justice, civil rights and citizen status are applied to the black man. He fights that these principles may apply to England, France, Belgium, Servia, Roumania, Japan, China, Montenegro, Greece, Russia, Hayti, Cuba, Siam, Italy and WHITE AMERICA, and eventually to Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria, and all of the national contingencies of the world. But WHITE AMERICA says, they do not and shall not apply to Negro citizens who helped in winning this glorious consummation for the benefit of the world's mankind. Oh! human and race prejudice! thou ignorant, selfish, blighting and damning American White Man's Fondling. The monster ruling kaiser of American white sentiment, black as Dantes' darkness of the lower regions, cruel as the deposed Kaiser of Germany, unreasonable as demons acquainted only with the brute spirit and life. Our noble, brave, heroic and splendid Negro American soldiers are to return from the fields of blood, carnage and death to their homes, to be lynched, jim-crowed, segregated, robbed of their civil and political rights, treated with every manner of injustice and discrimination. Is this to be the case in our Re-adjustment policy at home?

The Democracy of the South is purely political in its first application; and purely for the benefit of the white man in its second application. No more, no less. He wants to use the Negro for his own selfish purposes, as he did when in slavery with a very slight elevation of his physical, mental and economic condition. Educate him, dress him up, fit him only for the white man's use. Democracy does not apply to him as it does to the white man. His Democracy means

servility, an underling, a citizen with limited legal, civil and just rights, and for crime is not to be executed by legal process which is his undeniable right, but must be butchered without the common respect accorded a hog.

Is this to be one of America's Glorious (?) articles to be couched in the Peace Negotiations? Is this to constitute a part of the blessed (?) proclamation of "Universal Peace and Democracy" in which America will be the leading factor? All of the above questions will be answered in the affirmative so far as White America is concerned. So it is up to the Negroes to get busy and reverse the situation. Now is our opportunity; now, must we act, and act quickly and wisely. Insist on being a party in every transaction effecting our interest as part of the body politic and not as Negroes. The white man first despised, then ignored and now seeks to depose the Negro as a citizen. In the first instance we forced (or helped to force) his notice, in the second place, we won his partial respect; now let us force the third issue, break over his barriers and win our long sought citizen rights at this opportune time. It is not altogether pleasant to think of the future. The Negro is not going to submit to ill treatment commonly accorded him before this war. We hope for his calm and considerate exercise of temper, judgment and discretion, in all difficult situations, and the profound wisdom of his leadership.

The End of the War News
The days of peace are upon us. Is the Negro prepared for the fierce economic competition which all competent observers agree will accompany the return of peace? That financial America anticipates sharp industrial strife with the ending of the war can readily be gleaned from the following quotation from the financial columns of a Metropolitan daily: 1/13/18

"Without full control of labor, military preparedness will be difficult or impossible, and without military preparedness, world markets are not to be had or held in the FIERCE ERA OF ECONOMIC COMPETITION which the American investing classes believe the world is now entering upon."

This is only one of countless warnings of the merciless economic competition of the future. What are Negroes doing in the way of preparation to offset the injuries and handicaps which the race will surely sustain at the return of peace and the closing down of scores of munition plants and ship-yards?

The Negro of all the racial groups in America—and, in fact, in the world—is taking no thought of the future. He, of all humanity, fails to recognize the necessity of the control and ownership of huge natural resources as a safeguard and guarantee of both his present and his future. The Poles are demanding Poland, the Germans are trying to save what they can of Germany, the French and Belgians are looking for an extension of their frontier lines, the British are further extending the huge British Empire—all others are looking out for themselves. The Negro alone fights for the victors and has not sense enough to demand his share of the spoils. He alone, continues to dream of the impossible. He alone, mouths of the Millenium. He alone, remains the outcast, the expatriated.

A GEORGIA WHITE WOMAN MAKES STARTLING CONFES- SION—DIDN'T KNOW COLORED PEOPLE USED GOOD ENGLISH, COULD REFRAIN FROM STEALING OR HAD RED BLOOD UNTIL RECENTLY
The Christian
That race prejudice is not something that is inherited, but is educated and trained into a person is evidenced by the remarkable confession from a white lady of Georgia, which appeared in a recent editorial in The Favorite Magazine, under the title, "The World is Growing Better." 9-9-18.

The editorial says in part: "The other day a white woman, who works in a munition factory, remarked to a friend: 'I was born and reared in Georgia. I have always been taught that it was the height of propriety for a lady to despise a Negro, but during the last two weeks I have been forced to work beside a young colored woman and many are the things that I have learned as a result.'

For example, I never knew that colored people used good English. That girl's diction was as faultless as mine or yours. I never knew a Negro had red blood until the day before yesterday, when my neighbor cut her finger on one of the tools. I never knew a Negro could refrain from stealing until last Monday, when I left my purse, through carelessness, next to her bench and returned to find it safe.

I think we have been as foolish as the Germans in our estimate of the colored people."

THE HERALD
DECEMBER 22, 1918
SETTLING THE RACE QUESTION
To the Editor of the Herald:

Mr. Bumstead's article upon the race question falls in with my own hopeful feelings on the subject, the result of observations in Delaware and Maryland, and to some extent in Virginia. At Princess Anne, Maryland, I made the acquaintance of C. W. Maslin, a southerner who had lived much in the North and had business success there and in North Carolina, and who in the latter state had served on a regional improvement committee to which the colored people upon invitation from the whites, contributed a member. His report of what happened in the course of this undertaking was encouraging. I found him also interested in the local colored people, and especially in a local Negro industrial school, which I visited with him. Here we found an intelligent body of students, girls and boys, and Negro teachers of dignity and sound education, one of them at the head of the farm, equipped for his work by study at two excellent agricultural colleges.

Wherever I went in the villages of Delaware and Maryland I found evidence of the improved condition of the colored people, and a friendly relation of the two races. A visit to Lincoln University, near Oxford, Pa., the oldest institution of the kind in America, and I believe in the world, confirmed the hopeful views I had gained in Delaware and Maryland. The colored people have yet a long way to go before they shall have worked out of her the worst inheritances of savagery, and worse than savagery, slavery, and we must not be foolishly sanguine as to the immediate future, but the race question is not so distressing in aspect as it seemed even 10 years ago, and the outcome of this war is to help further in this vital matter, vital not alone to one race, but to both, not alone to the South, but to New England, where public opinion is too indifferent to issues of broad national import, and where the friends of the Negro have often had more zeal than discretion. E. N. VALLANDIGHAM.
Chestnut Hill, Sept. 25.

HEAR THE HEATHEN RAGE.

A reader sends us a copy of a magazine published down in San Antonio, Texas, called K. Lamity's Harpoon. This publication is indeed a calamity to San Antonio, to Texas and to what ever other places in which it circulates. It is a poor imitation of Brann's Iconoclast, which was also once published in Texas. The editor of the Harpoon tries to make up for Brann's perverted ability by vulgar abuse. Brann did have real ability; he had a brilliant, sarcastic style, and knew how to write forcible English. If the editor of the Harpoon has any ability he doesn't show it; he is loud-mouthed but stupid, and does not know how to write correct English. He depends largely upon his vulgar, abusive and obscene utterances to attract attention.

New York Age 12-20-18
The copy of the Harpoon sent to us contains two articles on what is doubtless its pet aversion, the Negro. The first is a low attack on Mrs. Howard Gould for having addressed a gathering of colored voters in Harlem during the recent special election campaign. The second is an article headed, "Why I Object To Negro Soldiers."

In the first article seven pages are taken up with abuse of Mrs. Gould and abuse of the Negro. The writer draws heavily on the well known ethnology and history of the "Southern scientific" school. He goes in at great length to prove that the Negro is an inferior being for whom there can be no hope of rising. To Mrs. Gould he says:

Did it ever occur to you, that God Almighty created both the white man and the black man, just as He saw proper, and He intended them to thus remain?

You possibly may have heard, that ever since the dawn of creation, the black man has never been competent to organize or perpetuate even a semblance of government, but from the days of Adam has, when left to himself, lived the life of a conscienceless savage.

Now the writer of these words is either an ignorant fool or just a plain liar. If he knows anything about history at all he must know that when the race to which he belongs was a race of hairy savages living in caves and gnawing on raw bones, the Negro in Africa had already laid the foundations of government and religion, had taken the first steps in mathematics and astronomy, had made the first beginnings in music and poetry, had discovered the secret of smelting iron, and had mastered the rudimentary trades.

Of course the writer on the Harpoon will say that the people who lived in early Egypt and up the valley of the Nile were not pure Negroes. Well, we want him to tell us what were the **pure white people** doing at the same time. And also to tell us why these people, if they were not Negroes, fashioned the Sphynx and other monuments with pure Negro features.

The Harpoon writer says that the Negro, except when he has been brought into contact with the white man, has lived the life of a conscienceless savage. He is putting it backward; the white man was never anything but a savage until touched by the civilization of the darker races. Suppose we grant that the early Egyptians were a mixed race; it only goes to prove that the white man did not rise above the animal until he came in contact with the Negro in Africa. The same line of argument might be applied to all the civilizations that fringed the Mediterranean, from Arabia on around to Greece and Italy.

The prevalent theory is that the **pure white race** migrated from central Asia northward into Europe; then the question arises, why did not civilization in all of its perfection extend northward instead of southward. Does the "Harpoon" not know that if the world had come to an end just a thousand years ago, the **pure white race** would not have had to its credit a single one of the contributions that have raised man in the scale of civilization?

The "Harpooner" will, of course, ask this question, "If Africa was once the seat of civilization, why has its civilization passed?" The same question might be asked about Babylon and Athens and even Rome. The torch of civilization has passed from the hand of one race to another; that seems to be the way in which it has been

kept flaming. For the past five hundred years it has been in the hands of the **pure white races**; and to-day they seem to be doing their best to put it out. But all things in the universe move in a circle, and who knows but that once again the darker races may be the torch bearers.

Men of the type of the editor of the Harpoon are always referring to God Almighty's part in the Southern scheme of things. This editor, who is so familiar with God's great plan says that God Almighty created the black man "just as He saw proper, and He intended them thus to remain." The only comment we have to make is that this Southern God has not been very successful in carrying out his plan, because the black man for some reason does not remain in the place where this Southern God intended him to be. He has for three hundred years in this country been constantly rising above that place. Somehow or other, he just won't stay fixed. If the black man would only stay in the place assigned to him in the Southern plan of creation, men like K. Lamity would not have on their hands such a big job trying to keep him down.

What men like K. Lamity do not realize is that they are not living in the present age. They belong back in the age when the controversy about the Negro was as to whether or not he had a human soul and could be made susceptible to religious teaching; as to whether or not he has sufficient gray matter in his skull to master the rudiments of learning. The American colored man to-day is not concerned with any such arguments, he dropped them years ago. The American Negro to-day is not wasting his time trying to prove his equality by any theory; he is demonstrating it. In fact, the sort of equality he is claiming is the equality of opportunity; and even K. Lamity ought to be willing to grant that, because if the black man is innately inferior there is no danger in giving him the equal chance to prove his equality to other men.

The writer in the Harpoon in another part of his article says to Mrs. Gould:

"The cat-capers you are cutting around New York, Viola, are extremely funny to the people of the Southland."

Well, it is the most serious kind of fun we ever saw. Funny, is it? Why the nightmare, the overhanging dread of men like K. Lamity is the thought that in spite of all their efforts the Negro will rise far above the place where they try to fool themselves God intended him to remain.

But listen to this:

Jesus Christ himself, although surrounded by black men all His life, never once mentioned them—and why?

He knew His Father had created the Negro for a definite purpose, and that in His wisdom and mercy would carry out His great plan, regardless of the petty fancies or assumed intelligence of any man—or batty woman. It is not for you or I, to attempt at this late day, a general reconstruction of God's immutable laws.

Now that is really funny. "It is not for you or I, to attempt at this late day, a general reconstruction of God's immutable laws." Think of K. Lamity and the other ignorant, mean, little-souled men of his ilk in Texas and other states straining with all of their feeble strength to prevent God's immutable laws from being changed. It is enough to bring a smile to the face of a tired mule.

Let the heathen rage.

After reading the above, I am sure that you will not need to hear K. Lamity's reasons why he objects to Negro soldiers. He says, "according to my ideas, when the very life and welfare of America is at stake, and civilization is rocking upon its very foundations, it ill behooves this great nation of white men and white women to call into its councils or place in its front line of defense the emancipated slaves in our midst." K. Lamity is not the only Southern patriot with opinions like that, but I want to say to him that with America's welfare at stake and civilization rocking upon its foundations, the American people will look on him and all like him as a set of crazy fools who ought to be put in an insane asylum or locked up in jail.

CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME-ALABAMA, FOR INSTANCE.

The Cleveland
The Birmingham (Ala.) News in an editorial entitled "The Catholicity of Democracy" has the following to say:

"What a sight the fields of France present today, where all the forces of all the earth are assembled to protect the weak from spoliation by the strong. No other generation of men ever saw such a sight before, where men lay down their lives for their friends. Here is true Catholicity, the Catholicity of the kingdom of God; and it is a display of it, which has never before been seen in the earth. Does this mean that the Kingdom of God is coming into the earth as never before, unto the blessing of men in the relations which they hold as members one of another in the world? If there even was a time when littleness and narrowness, prejudice and bigotry, selfishness and sectarianism, were out of order, it is such a time as this."

That "The News" is correct, in its conclusions—we all admit, but THIS is also a time for "DEEDS and NOT words."

There are numerous ways in which ALL the forces of "The News" can be assembled to protect the weak Negroes of Birmingham, and Alabama, from exploitation, spoliation and oppression by the strong whites.

If "The News" would do this, we venture the assertion that, "No other generation of men in the South, or elsewhere, would ever witness such a sight, as that, if 'The News' would only champion the Negroes of Alabama."

Let "The News" enter on a drive for sentiment to make more comfortable the lot of the Negroes of Birmingham whose kith and kin have given themselves to this work of worldwide redemption of humanity, and who are part of "the forces of all the earth now assembled on the fields of France."

Then would there be a true Catholicity of democracy, for folks, just ordinary Negro folk, mean more in the new life of the world than ever before; and the world of peoples must be governed by the people and for the people, and made safe for democracy.

IF EVER THERE WAS A TIME WHEN LITTLENESS AND NARROWNESS, PREJUDICE AND BIGOTRY, SELFISHNESS AND SECTARIANISM, WERE OUT OF ORDER, IT IS SUCH A TIME AS THIS."

"A Daniel! A Daniel! A Daniel! come to judgment. O wise 'News' how we do honor thee!"

The St. Louis
Thus spoke several of the drafted Negro men who have been returned to their respective homes from the various training camps.

These expressions of regret that the war was over were most likely made from the fact that the boys were sorely disappointed in not being able to go to France to measure arms with the Huns.

Many thousands of these drafted men had left their homes with the one idea of giving their services to their country and if need be, make the Supreme Sacrifice for that kind of democracy which would include all of "America's citizens regardless of creed or color."

Thousands of these patriots came from the cotton fields of the Southland; others from the sugar plantations of Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi and still others from cities, towns and hamlets in the South where Negroes are considered less than men and treated worse than animals.

Thousands of these loyal Americans of dark complexion had for years tasted the bitterness of unequal justice. They have at times been forced to witness the lynching and burning of human beings who were often innocent of the crimes of which they were accused, but dared not raise their voices in

protest, lest they too should suffer the fate of their Negro brethren.

Thousands who did not go to France and thousands who have gone, felt that it was far better to face the bloodthirsty Huns with an equal chance, and if necessary, die with honor on the battle field, rather than be turned over to a blood thirsty mob of Americans without the means to even defend their lives.

"Sorry it is ended," indeed a sombre expression which calls for the most sober thought and the most statesman-like solution. These questions are to be answered:

Is the Negro American's dream of a world's democracy for which he has fought, bled and died to establish, to become, after all, a nightmare?

Is the honor which has been gained on the battle field of France by the Negro American, to be made a plaything for mobs of white men who style themselves Americans?

Is it really true that Negro American soldiers who have risked their lives in a foreign land for the sake of America, must return to their homes to find that the country for which they fought, is the only one on earth which does not bid them welcome?

The fear that democracy holds nothing more in store for the Negro American than a continuation of lynching, mobs, murders, discrimination, proscription and hate on account of color is what prompts these patriots to say, "WE ARE SORRY IT IS ENDED."

A Regrettable Incident 12-13-18

A SCORE or more of white men and women in the audience which heard a Negro concert company in a Negro church in this city Monday night rudely left the auditorium while the concert company and the audience sang The Star Spangled Banner, the closing number. It may interest these thoughtless persons to know that their conduct was noted by the Negroes and has been freely criticised by the Negro leaders of the community.

Probably two hundred white persons attended that Negro concert. The Negroes gave them the best seats in their church. The Negroes maintained perfect order, much better order in fact than one finds in public gatherings of white people. There was no whistling, stamping of feet and loud talking characteristic of audiences which assemble from time to time in our white High School Auditorium. There were 1,200 or more Negroes in the audience and if there was any misconduct or rudeness upon the part of a single one of them, it was not noticeable.

There was no excuse for any white person insulting that Negro audience and showing a pro-German contempt for the national anthem. In mixed audiences in this city the Negroes invariably keep their seats until white people leave the house. This newspaper deeply regrets Monday night's incident and trusts that the colored people will overlook the rudeness of their white neighbors. After all, it wasn't due to any disrespect of the national air but just due to the fact that a lot of white people have yet to learn what present day Negroes recognize and respect good manners of the people.

A Leader to Lead the Leaders

The multiplicity of new questions confronting us, claiming the attention of the student body of thinkers, along lines hitherto new and untried appears to—and in fact are foreign to the mental operation of those who for the past fifty years have posed as leaders. It is not intended here to question the honor nor good faith of those who have sought to throw around

The Negro and Democracy

YOUR NEGRO NEIGHBOR. By Benjamin Brawley. New York: The Macmillan Co. 60 cents.

A plea such as this for justice to the negro could not be more appropriately timed than now, when America has dedicated her youth and her resources to the struggle to make the world safe for democracy. To battle against Prussian savagery and countenance in the United States lynchings whose barbarity should cause a Hun to blush is to be recreant, not alone to our traditions, but to our professions as well. To decorate the negro for valor on the field of battle in foreign lands—valor which his race has long since proved in his own country—and deny him the right to industrial opportunity and social tolerance at home is to assume a position that should appear as untenable to the white man as it is tragic to his black fellow.

Mr. Brawley, summarizing in succinct and restrained fashion the disabilities and problems of his race, and making an earnest if temperately presented appeal for their amelioration, reviews in rapid and effective manner the shortcomings of our policy toward the negro since his emancipation from slavery. His chapters deal successively with the colored man's achievements and restrictions in industry, his inhuman persecution at the hands of the insensate few who have foisted the stigma of lynching upon the country, his education, and his possibilities. Some of the more outstanding of the allegations made against him are examined, and their fallacies exposed, and a general historical review, brief but sufficiently detailed to suggest the advance that the negro race has already made and the greater strides that it can be expected to attain in the future, is furnished by way of introduction to more specific discussion. Mr. Brawley includes a tribute to Joanna P. Moore, a pioneer in the work for the improvement of the condition of the negro. His little volume is an eloquent and forceful plea, effective by reason of its moderation as well as because of its reasoning.

—A volume of short stories by Henri Barbusse, author of "Under Fire," is announced for issue this fall by E. P. Dutton & Co. It will be called "We Others: Stories of Fate, Love, and Pity." It has been translated by Fitzwater Wray, translator of "Under Fire." These stories do not deal with the war.

themselves to the mantle of leadership, but rather to call their attention to the fact that they are facing the inevitable—that their day is passed. Their sun is sinking, and leaving behind it no luminating rays for the guidance of those who seek to follow.

The thousands of soldiers who have already passed over and the thousands of others who are preparing to go to do their bit for democracy are asking for new leadership, they are asking for a new preachment that will differ from those they have heard, in short, they are asking for A LEADER TO LEAD THE LEADERS. They are asking for one who can rightly interpret the spirit of the times; they are asking for one who lives in this day the impulse of whose thought is actuated by the desires and needs of those who are suffering the caste and proscription of our present day democracy.

They are asking for a leader who knows that Lincoln is dead, one who knows that when he attempts to compare the sainted Lincoln with leaders of today, that he is at variance with the facts in that he will be reasoning from a condition that existed over fifty years ago instead of now, and that he is suffering his judgment to be betrayed by false analogy, in that he is captivated with the appearance of a resemblance where in fact there is no similitude.

They want a leader with an eye singular to the spirit of the times, who can see the remarkable changes taking place in the advancement of social progress; one who possesses the power of discernment, having faith in the hopes and ambition of his race and one whose life will be a fitting example of honor and moral rectitude.

The crisis through which we are now passing, the great struggle in which the whole world is involved, empires dismembered, and reduced to complete impotence, the churches disrupted, nations hostile, the faith of ages shattered, the passions of men destroying the commonwealth which nourishes them and gives them shelter requires that out of this great mass of confusion a leader must be found to answer the call of the new day readjustment and point the way of his race to a path of high and nobler purposes.

This leader must realize the great sacrifice being made by his fellows who have gone forth to do and die freely in the cause of democracy and are only asking that when the great conflict is over that their spokesman will be permitted to take his rightful place in the chamber of deliberation in the great readjustment. We dread no deaths when it means to immortalize a principle, we realize the seriousness of this conflict and have dedicated our all in all to the cause, we know that out of it will come a new era and when that day comes we must be prepared to present the right man at the right hour to champion our cause, thus we call FOR A LEADER TO LEAD THE LEADERS. Our contract for a seat at the table of deliberation is being written in the blood of our kindred, this, this new LEADER will know, he will know that there is only one democracy, that is the democracy which leaves the door of hope ajar that all men who aspire to the higher and nobler purposes of life may enter. He will know that there is only one autocracy and that is the autocracy which threatens to stifle democracy and must be stamped out wherever found, whether in the reigning families of the old world or lingering around the fireside of THIS NEW REPUBLIC. A NEW LEADER TO LEAD THE LEADERS WHO WILL RESPOND?

A DEMORALIZING ELEMENT

In this time of our national life when the nation to a man is struggling to cement the wall of democracy with its life's blood, and each component part exerting its every effort to uphold the hand of the government, there seeps into its main channel of patriotic activity a disturbing element which if allowed to continue will in the end produce damaging results. The *Lafayette Courier*, published at Thibodaux, La., and edited by John B. Taylor (white), has this to say regarding the readjustment period:

If something is not done soon to clean our principal streets of the

little negroes that are getting to be a regular pest there'll be some dead "niggers" lying around and no one will know who is guilty. It is well for President Wilson to preach against such law, but things sometimes get to such a point that it requires drastic measures to re-establish decency. When the negroes are not using profane, indecent and boisterous language they are fighting amongst themselves or are fighting with some white boys. Last Sunday there was a fight between two colored boys at the corner of St. Philip and Fourth streets; Monday a white boy and a negro boy had a fight at the corner of St. Philip and Third streets, and there's no telling how many other fights have taken place since.

Some of the negro men are to blame for the boys becoming impudent and unbearable, as they are beginning to talk about what will happen when the negro soldiers get back from the war. They are crazy and don't know it, for when the negro soldiers get back the white soldiers will be here also, and it will be a sad thing for the negroes to try to stir up trouble with the view, as some say, of "getting even." The way they were laying around the streets of this town dead in 1887 won't be a circumstance to what will be seen when the negroes get back and "start something."

There are some colored people who are sensible and who seek only harmony between themselves and the whites, but, unfortunately for these, if trouble should begin in consequence of the foolhardiness of the bad element amongst the blacks, the good ones will also suffer. The same thing will happen to a few foolish white people who give negroes improper advice. They'll get their "walking papers" and it will be time to walk sure enough. Some of the white men who were tarred and feathered here in 1887 and requested to leave have not returned yet.

The above editorial is from a paper which is presumed to reflect the spirit of the community in which it is published. This presumption is based upon the fact that a community, like an individual, cannot rise above its environments. If such was possible the editorial would be impossible because the editor would be impossible.

It is unfortunate that one whose views carry with them so much of the "Kultur" which of itself makes for destruction of a democracy should disgrace the profession of the fourth estate.

The editorial speaks for itself. No other evidence is needed to justify the decision that this particular "stick whittler" who has been fortunate enough to acquire a printing press has neither the ability to write an editorial nor the inclination to deal fairly with the subject matter when that subject matter happens to refer to our people. This type of newspaper man in the South, supposedly speaking for and reflecting the opinion of those who make up the great political and economic activities of the various communities, has done more to damn the progress of the South, stifle the liberties of its people and breed the spirit of German kultur than any active agency which could have been planted by the German government itself.

This class of "stick-whittling editor" whose attitude against the men who wear the colors of their country, and who have crossed the seas, braving death in their travel in the endeavor to reach a landing where they will again brave death in a field of battle that democracy might be established for the benefit of mankind—"this class" has done more to discourage the patriotism and destroy the morale of our people than all of the German bullets.

In the same dispatch with this scurrilous attack and prediction came a statement from President Wilson setting forth the reasons why he commuted the sentence of ten convicted soldiers who participated in the Houston, Texas, riot in August, 1917. The President said: "I commuted the sentence because I believe the lesson of this lawless riot will have been adequately pointed out by the action already taken and that now directed, and also because I desire the clemency here ordered to be a recognition of the splendid loyalty of the Race to which these soldiers belong. And an inspiration to the people of that Race to further zeal and service to the country of which they are citizens, and for the liberties of which so many of them are now bravely bearing arms at the very front of the great field of battle."

At the very moment that the greatest master mind of this country was striving to breathe into the very life of the nation itself the spirit of peace and good will among all classes of its citizenry, and to evidence by a far-reaching act his appreciation for the loyalty and devotion of a race, this "hill billy" editor from the swamps of Louisiana was exerting his every effort to disturb the peaceful equilibrium of those who are endeavoring to make the world safe for democracy. It is here recommended that the acts and conduct of John B. Taylor should receive the careful scrutiny of the Department of Justice, and such an application will be made by law abiding citizens.

noon business session, and an evening public meeting, at which Arthur Gleason and Kelly Miller were the principal speakers, with L. Hollingsworth Wood, president of the League, presiding.

Dean Kelly Miller of the College of Arts and Sciences, of Howard University spoke, in part as follows: "Along with the divine right of kings must go, the divine right of the races, the divine right of birth, of culture, of wealth, must be removed from the government of this world. The only divine right that is to remain is the divine right for every individual to make most of himself. This war has been waged for the brother-

hood of man—for the democratizing of the world. If the larger powers of the world will consent to the Big Brothers of the world, our reconstruction will be what it should be. When Germany violated the moral law in exercising her rights over the weaker nations, and justified that right, she had to be destroyed or civilization would be destroyed. If the world is to be made safe for democracy, then the United States must be made safe for democracy; Mississippi must be made safe for democracy. Pres. Wilson says, and justly says, 'you shall not be permitted to make of international law a scrap of paper.' He is absolutely right, but then that imposes upon him as chief magistrate of 100,000,000 Americans that the Constitution which he has sworn to support shall not be made a scrap of paper.

Lloyd George, the greatest statesman in the continent of Europe, has said that in the future of the government of the colonies must be for the welfare of the colonists themselves. Belgians did not consider the human element in gathering rubber from the colonists. We are going to have, hereafter, the colonists of Africa coming under the control of the United States, largely, I think. We have a human interest in the colonies that no other nation in the world has. We have 12,000,000 people who were delivered from the continent of Africa, and we have a chain of human relationship with that continent. England had not the idea of democracy, but is getting it now. The United States must furnish an example to the world of the proper government of these retarded peoples of the globe. In the United States we have ten million Americans who have a human interest and whom the United States can use as instruments in helping to establish a human regime in the colonies."

PASSING OF THE NEGRO

PROBLEM ATCHISON KAN GLOBE

The war brings many changes in disguise. One of these is that we hear little, if anything, about the "negro problem" now. The negro is proving his unbounded usefulness in many ways. The race has come forward to army and navy with the eagerness of patriots, and the dusky troops have won considerable praise from their superiors. In the Southern training camps only the most favorable comment on them is heard. In industries that pertain to the war they are of great value. Henry Beckles, a negro, twenty-eight years old, the champion riveter of the Downey shipbuilding corporation, has made the best weeks' total by a riveter in any yard. Out of 7,325 bolts on ships in the ways which he sent home

DIVINE RIGHT OF RACES MUST GO

Dean Kelly Miller Says That "Along With the divine right of kings must go, the divine right of the races, the divine right of birth, of culture, of wealth, must be removed from the government of this world. The only divine right that is to remain is the divine right for every individual to make most of himself. This war has been waged for the brother-

Sage Foundation Building today, the National League held its Annual Meeting, which consisted in an after-

West Indies

Cuban Negroes Desire American Intervention

advertiser, tion

3/17/17

That Negroes in Cuba were pillaging and burning the homes and properties of Americans and other foreigners in several districts of the island, were the charges made by 24 American and British refugees who arrived in New York last Sunday, according to a dispatch from the metropolis. Most of the refugees escaped with only the clothes they wore, says the report, and they predicted that there will be a massacre of all the white residents remaining unless the United States intervenes. They asserted that the Cuban government was powerless to cope with the situation. An appeal for aid signed by 116 Americans remaining in the territory occupied by the rebels, the refugees said, would be forwarded to the State Department at Washington. A statement alleged to have been written by General Blas Maso threatening a massacre was included in the appeal. A part of the statement follows: "You will holler loudest and we will destroy until your hollering will be heard in Washington and force American intervention. For the time being we will not fight the government

troops and we will not kill you unless you oppose us. We are only fighting now with the torch, terrorizing and organizing. But if Menocal does not step out May 20 we will fight and kill. We are 15,000 rebels in this province, and well armed, and the whole province will become a wilderness. Your government can prevent this by intervention." Reference was made in the rebel leaders' statements to the Negro revolution of 1912 when 5,000 Negroes were killed in Oriente Province. "and now that we are armed," ran the statement, "the death of 5,000 defenseless Negroes in 1912 shall be avenged in a horrible way."

RACE QUESTION STIRS DANISH WEST INDIES

Labor Union of Colored Men a Dominant Influence in

Island of St. Croix.

UNCLE SAM IN THE CARIBBEAN.

BY FREDERIC J. HASKIN.

FOURTH ARTICLE.

[Special Correspondence of The Daily News.] Christiansted, St. Croix, D. W. I., March 12.—St. Croix is in a condition that orders upon anarchy. The nearest thing to a ruling power is a negro who has organized his fellows against the handful of Danish and Irish landowners. This man, Hamilton Jackson, has made himself easily the most feared and famous individual in this island world. To his followers he is a god and king, a bringer of hope where there was none before. The planters see him as a menace to life and property; he is safe chiefly because if anything happened to him every black on the island would rise to revenge him. Nor would it be the first time the blacks of St. Croix have risen against their masters. That is what gives the situation here its keen tension. That is why the Danish gunboat Valkyrien patrols the islands. That is why every one here demands of every visiting American when he lands are to be formally transferred to the government of the United States. No more peaceful-seeming spot than St. Croix could be found, and yet fear on one side and unrest on the other are the emotions that lie just below the surface.

Blacks and Whites Fight.

Seen in perspective, the story of this island has been that of one long struggle between the blacks and the whites. Always the land here has been owned by a few white men. At present there are only eleven separate holdings of sugar land, and there were never more than 100. Long ago slaves were brought from Africa to cultivate these lands. They always outnumbered the whites 100 to one, and their condition was always peculiarly hopeless because their tiny island offered no hope of either escape or of bettering their condition. It is recorded that in 1733 the slaves revolted against their masters and killed and burned.

When the revolt had been put down, the royal council of that day issued a proclamation which contained among others the following articles:

"The leaders of runaway slaves shall be pinched three times with red hot ironers and then hung. Each runaway slave shall lose one leg, or, if pardoned by his master, one ear, and shall receive 150 stripes. Slaves who steal to the value of four rix-dollars shall be pinched and hung. One white person shall be sufficient witness against a slave, and if suspected he may be tried by torture."

Despite the measures taken to hold them under the spell of fear the slaves of St. Croix rose in revolt in 1848 and forced the governor of the islands to read a proclamation setting them free. This, however, made little change in their actual condition. They owned no land and were dependent upon the planters. A contract labor law was passed which made their condition much the same as before. In 1879 they revolted again against the contract labor law, killed many of the planters and burned Christiansted to the ground. The contract labor law was abolished. Yet the condition of the people was little changed.

Heritage of Oppression.

Only in the light of this troubled past can the present problems of St. Croix be understood. It is an island of peaceful shade trees or penciled with the feathery and pleasant ways, of sunshine and color, shadows of royal palms.

and a sort of leisurely industry of planting and reaping. Soft laughter and the tinkling of guitars fill the streets in the evening; the people seem carefree and contented, but they have a heritage of bloodshed and oppression. The lives of the blacks have always been essentially hopeless, and they have struck against their oppressors again and again. In the songs of the negroes there is a plaintive note, and under its surface of laughter and music the life of the island is what it has always been—a struggle between the few who have and the many who have not.

The organization of a labor union here is only a revolt of slaves in another form. For, although freemen in name, these people are still practically peons. But they have gone to the schools and found a leader, and they know of better ways to assert themselves than did the generation that burned Christiansted. They have twice gone on strike, have forced their wages up from 25 to 40 cents a day, and are now demanding shorter hours of work.

The planters charge that Hamilton Jackson has organized this union solely for his own profit; that he is preaching race hatred and the doctrine that the whites must be dispossessed; that he has told the people they must not work hard enough to sweat. The advance in wages they do not begrudge, they say, since profits in sugar are high this year, but they assert that their field hands tell them they have instructions from Jackson not to work hard enough to "sweat their shirts." As a result they cannot get the new crop planted on time, and cultivation cannot be extended at all. They assert that although wages are 70 cents a day in Porto Rico it costs less to cut and haul a load of cane there than in St. Croix, where wages are only 40 cents. The St. Croix field hand, they say, does just about one-tenth of what would be considered a fair day's work in the United States.

Jackson a One Man Court.

The situation is greatly complicated by the fact that the Danish government, never effective, seems to have gone out of business. There is practically no effective police. Jackson has become his own police and his own court. He calls his tenants before him and renders judgments. It should be said in his favor that he has conducted his strikes without disorder, and has prevented the negroes from burning any cane fields, which they used to do frequently.

It is charged by many persons in the islands that the Danish government deliberately tolerated and encouraged the activities of Jackson before the sale in order to make conditions bad and foster prosale sentiment. Now he has got beyond their control if they wished to exercise it. The difference in viewpoint between black and white men here is shown in their respective attitudes toward the living quarters furnished for the field hands. The latter own no land, and in accordance with ancient custom the master furnishes each field hand with a room 10 by 12 feet. These rooms have stone walls, board floors and cast iron roofs. The negroes are allowed to cultivate patches of land and they all own a few chickens, pigs and goats. Many of them own horses, which are pastured on the master's land, and they are allowed to have carts in which to go to church. The little negro villages are often ideally pretty, the white walls showing among the dark foliage and golden fruit of orchards and trees or penciled with the feathery shadows of royal palms.

Two Sides of the Picture.

The planter shows you his happy village and asks if his negroes are not indeed well off. But Jackson points out that the houses have no sanitary appliances, that whole families live in single rooms, that it is impossible to raise standards of morality and decency until the people are housed in a civilized way. The planter sees his negroes as childlike creatures, incapable of a different life, to whom he is kind and lenient. Jackson sees in them a people of possibilities, who have as much right to hope and progress as any other people.

He has a complete plan of social reform which he hopes to enact with the help of the United States government, just as the planters expect to put him in with our help.

Cuban Rebels Threaten to Kill Whites

advertiser 5-7-17 (Associated Press)

NEW YORK, May 6—Charges that Cuban negro rebels are burning and pillaging the homes and properties of Americans and other foreigners in the districts of Palmarito, Bayate and Miranda, Oriente province, were made by twenty-four American and British refugees who arrived here today. They predicted that there will be a massacre of the white residents remaining unless the United States intervenes and asserted that the Cuban government is powerless to cope with the situation. Most of the refugees escaped with only the clothes they wore. The accusations were substantiated by an appeal for aid signed by 116 Americans remaining in the territory occupied by the rebels. The appeal, the refugees said, will be forwarded to the state department at Washington.

Threat Of Massacre

The threat of a massacre is contained in a statement included in the appeal, alleged to have been written by Gen. Blas Maso. The statement Maso is reputed to have made said:

"You will holler loudest and we will destroy until your hollering will be heard in Washington and force American intervention. We are only fighting now with the torch, terrorizing and organizing."

"But if Menocal does not step out May 20th we will fight and kill. We are 15,000 rebels in this province, all well armed, and the whole province will become a wilderness. Your government can prevent this by intervention."

The statement concludes with the following message from the general's aide:

Rebels Are All Negroes

"You will notice that we rebels are negroes to a man. You will remember the negro revolution of 1912, when 5,000 negroes were killed in this province."

"We remember that, too, and now that we are armed, the death of 5,000 defenseless negroes in 1912 shall now be avenged in a horrible war. I assure you."

George Buxton of Norfolk, Conn., asserted that the rebels held full sway in Oriente province outside of

Santiago and its environs. "Burning and pillaging," he said, "are far from infrequent. The atrocities committed on the whites in Mexico haven't a thing on what has been done and what is being done now in Cuba. "Administrative and military authorities of Santiago, after receiving many appeals for aid, did send out several expeditions, but the rebels withdrew to the forests and the government forces generally passed them without seeing them."

Describes His Experiences

Francis Brake, a Canadian, described the harrowing experiences of himself, his wife and five children, ranging in age from 5 to 19. They were not permitted to land here because of their destitution pending disposition of their case by the British consul. Brake was employed on a sugar plantation at Paso Estancia.

"Although only thirty-one miles from Santiago," he said, "and certainly within reasonable range of military protection, we were defenseless. The rebels, who were secretly organizing long before the rebellion was begun, swooped down on us and put our homes to the torch. We were driven from the plantation at the point of bayonets and we were given twenty-four hours to leave, but the rebels were in possession of the railroads, all the horses had been confiscated and we saw no means of making our escape.

"A negro rebel who had spent some time in the states gave us his own horse one night and we journeyed thirty-one miles overland to Santiago. **SUFFRAGISTS INSIST DANISH W. I.**

RETAIN THE BALLOT

The Guardian 2/3/16
Washington, D. C.—The purchase of the Danish West Indies present a new suffrage problem to the Congress of the United States because the women of the islands now possess rights and suffrage equal to those of the men.

When the subject of Danish West Indian legislation comes before Congress officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association will urge the retention of the rights now possessed by the women of the islands. They take the position that the United States, the first country to declare that "governments derive their just powers from the consent in the governed" should permit the women of the islands to retain their existing suffrage rights.

UNION

Springfield, Mass.

MAR 5 1917

PORTO RICANS NOW TO BE CITIZENS OF UNITED STATES.

Under the Porto Rico bill, which has passed both houses of Congress, every Porto Rican will become a United States citizen unless he goes before a court within six months and declares a desire not to become a citizen. This will remove a long-standing source of complaint on the island and will go far toward arresting the demand for independence which crops

out in some quarters among the population. For sixteen years the people of Porto Rico have been citizens of neither Spain nor the United States, and they have felt that they were much in the position of the man without a country. It is a matter of justice to the Porto Ricans, and a source of advantage all around, that this anomalous condition should end.

The right of suffrage will remain, for the time being, as fixed by the present laws, but the Legislature is empowered to fix new qualifications, and citizens who do not learn to read and write within ten years will be disqualified to vote. Although Negroes are said to constitute only twelve per cent. of the population, the color line has been somewhat of an obstacle in the way of a reorganization, but it is to be hoped the present compromise will allay objections on that ground. The new law does not, of course, discriminate against the Negro as such, nor does it make property ownership a necessary qualification for the ballot. Legislative power is vested in a Senate and House, elected by the people, and each member is to hold office for four years. The Legislature will elect a commissioner to the United States, and its acts will be subject to approval by Congress and the President.

Journal

Providence, R. I.

MAR 7 1917
Porto Rico's New Status

The approval by the President of the Porto Rico Government bill erects that anomalous possession into a Territory of the United States, and makes its people, collectively, American citizens.

Since they came under the protection of the American flag, the native residents of our "good little island" have been, technically if not in a sense prejudicial to their material welfare, "without a country." Having ceased to be subjects of Spain, they came to be styled "citizens of Porto Rico." But what was Porto Rico? It was not a State nor a Territory, nor even a colony of the United States—merely a possession, an appendage without exact political definition.

While Congress has been criticised for delaying all these years to give Porto Rico and its people a definite status, there has existed until recently a difference of opinion among the Porto Ricans themselves. Some of them wanted independence, which of course was out of the question. It is taken for granted that virtually the whole

population will now accept American citizenship under the automatic provision of the new law. Should any individuals prefer otherwise, they will be at liberty to call themselves citizens of Porto Rico. But after the first election under the new form of Government, which is fixed for the sixteenth of July next, anybody who renounces American citizenship will disfranchise himself.

At the first election all those now disqualified to vote may participate. After that, with the date, quadrennially, corresponding to our national elections, beginning in 1920, the newly registered voter must either be a taxpayer to the amount of three dollars, or be able to read and write English or Spanish. This is not a property qualification in the sense of the Rhode Island Constitution. The idea is that a Porto Rican who cannot read and write, but who is industrious and frugal enough to be a taxpayer, shall not be disfranchised—the taxpaying qualification is an alternative only. The new law confers a Bill of Rights on Porto Rico, such as all American States possess, displacing what was merely the machinery of government under the law of 1900.

Of the population of 1,118,012, the whites number 732,555, mulattoes 335,192 and blacks some fifty thousand. Nearly eighty per cent of the people live on farms, and the whites constitute eighty per cent. of the large rural population. The only franchise which the Porto Ricans have enjoyed for the past seventeen years is the right to elect the lower branch of their Legislature. Under the new law they will have self-government complete, except for the territorial Governor who is to be appointed by the President. The proceedings of the Legislature are to be recorded in the English language, but bills may be introduced either in English or in Spanish, and there is no restraint on speeches in the latter tongue. With this start, Porto Rico may hope to be a State, some day.

EL PASO TEX HERALD

SEPTEMBER 3, 1917

CHINESE GO TO PLANTATIONS

IN CUBA; NEGROES IDLERS

Two more trains of Chinese for Cuba with about 150 in each, passed through El Paso during the past few days. This brings the total of Chinese taken through from San Francisco to Cuba under bond over the Southern Pacific to about 1500 in the last two months. The managers of the big sugar plantations are taking the cheap coolie labor to the island as the negroes will not work, it is said. The Chinese will work in the rice and sugar fields.

HARTFORD CONN. GLOBE

AUGUST 18, 1917

Negroes With Irish Accent

Southward and westward from our newly acquired Virgin islands lies the British possession of Montserrat—a bit of tropic land set in a blue sea. Montserrat is remarkable for possessing a negro population that speaks with a marked Irish accent, the result of deportations of Irishmen to this remote islet more than a century ago. Although you can see nothing remotely resembling a son of the Emerald isle in Montserrat today, your ear can still catch a touch of the brogue in the peculiar dialect of the place, and many of the names are Irish pure and simple—such as O'Hara and Hogan and Ryan; there is even a village of Kinsale.

Danish West Indies

Pass to Sovereignty

of the United States

Associated Press 1-18-17

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17.—The Danish West Indies passed today under the sovereignty of the United States. Negotiations continued for over half a century came to a conclusion with the exchange of ratification of the treaty of cession by Secretary Lansing and Danish Minister Brun.

Formal transfer, with the raising of the American flag, will take place as soon as the \$25,000,000 purchase price is paid over within the next ninety days.

The treaty provides that meanwhile the Danish governor shall continue his jurisdiction and that a committee of one Dane and one American shall be appointed to arrange for further details.

The form of government is now in the hands of Congress, with some doubt as to whether the islands will have a civil government or be administered as naval base.

AMERICANS DOMINATING

THE SAN DOMINGANS

Recent advices from San Domingo state that the American military government has suppressed the minister from that country at Washington and also done away with the charge d'affaires in Havana. The former official, Minister Perdona, having protested against the occupation of his country by the United States, was declared non grata by the Secretary of State at Washington. Mr. Mollilo, the charge in Cuba, was deprived of his post for the same reason.

A detachment of marines disembarked at San Pedro de Macoris and were greeted with a volley of bullets, resulting in the wounding of Captain Henley, and the killing of Second Lieutenant Bolton. Immediately the city was declared under martial law and all the establishments closed. Chacha Goicochea left the city with his group of followers, being followed and dispersed. Chacha has been declared a rebel and \$500 in gold offered for his delivery to the American authorities.

N Y C CALL

AUGUST 5, 1917

West Indian Plantation Workers Are Organizing.

The Call received news from St. Croix, W. I., that the organization of the plantation laborers is meeting with resistance from the administration and that the leaders of the movement among the Negroes to obtain better conditions are being arrested.

Labor conditions among the working classes in the West Indies, especially in the British West Indies, are pitiful. Fish and rice is the only diet that these men and women who till the most fertile soil in the world can get to eat, it is reported.

In Dannemara, in British Guiana, the most deplorable exploitation of the Indians and Negroes is going on. In the French West Indies the plantation labor is getting better treatment than in the Barbadoes islands, probably because the plantation owners have some social vision.

Virtually no labor union exists among the natives, but a movement is starting now which may develop into a militant revolutionary organization. The success of the Free Federation of Workers of Porto Rico, lead by Santiago Inglesias, has already inspired the other farm slaves of the West Indies to dream of emancipation.

Danish West Indies Commission

The Freeman
J. C. Roberts, together with Messrs. Jurgensen, Christensen, Stakeman and Coulter, are to be in the city in a few days to confer with the officials of the United States Government relative to the welfare of the inhabitants of the islands after the assumption of the title to ownership by this country. This Commission was appointed by the Colonial Council of the islands and it will be the aim of the delegation to lay before the State Department the exact condition of the people there and to secure from the United States the very best possible consideration in the matter of form of government and the fullest participation of the natives in the administration of their local affairs. Local colored leaders are evincing no small degree of interest in the future of the nation's new possessions, as it is likely that many colored Americans will look over the islands with a view of investing in business there if the prospect seems favorable. 9-11-17

Race Problem - 1917

West Indies

Commonwealth of the West Indies

Memphis, Tenn.

RACE PROBLEM IS FACTOR IN CUBA

Largely to Blame for Revolutionary Developments.

NEGRO PROUD TO VOTE

Whites Indifferent About Exercising Right of Suffrage.

LIBERALS CHARGE FRAUD

Election Methods in the Island Republic Hopelessly Corrupt—Generally Admitted That the Liberal Party, Composed Largely of Negroes, in Majority.

WHY THE UNITED STATES HAS THE RIGHT TO INTERVENE IN CUBA.

The amendment to the army appropriation bill of 1901, drawn by Senator Orville H. Platt of Connecticut (and so called the "Platt amendment"), and afterward incorporated in the Cuban constitution, as well as in a treaty between Cuba and the United States, contains this paragraph:

The government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed on the United States by the treaty of Paris, and now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.

NEW YORK, Feb. 24.—Cuba's negro problem is largely to blame for the revolutionary developments which have centered attention on the rich little island republic.

There is no color line in Cuban suffrage laws. There is not even denial of the right to vote by such legal subtleties as are common in our south.

And it is a common observation in Cuba that the negro goes to the polls

more regularly than his white compatriot. The negro is proud to vote, while the white is often too proud to vote. The latter is indifferent and often lets election day go by without exercising his right of suffrage.

The negro goes to the polls and votes—but whether his vote counts is another matter.

Cuban election methods are hopelessly corrupt—at least, 13 years of freedom have not been sufficient to put them on anything approaching the plane of the United States and the great nations of Europe.

Through these methods, the Liberals in sympathy with the revolt say, their party was cheated out of the recent election.

The Liberals constitute the party of the masses, especially the negroes. It is generally admitted they have a majority of the voting population. In fact, Raoul E. Desvernine, counsel to the Cuban legation at Washington, said a few days ago with a certain amount of cynicism:

"It is perfectly true as he (Dr. Orestes Ferrara) says, that 80 per cent of Cuba's population belongs to the Liberal party, but it is equally true, although he does not say so, that the 80 per cent is composed largely of the peon class and that the brains and breeding of Cuba are affiliated with the Conservative party."

To an American, accustomed to the idea that the majority has the right to elect the government in a republic, this attitude of Senor Desvernine is astounding.

In fact, Senor Desvernine in so many words admitted just what the Liberals assert in their justification of the present revolt—that Cuba is ruled by an aristocratic and commercial clique, which is now seeking to perpetuate itself by the use of the army and the government machinery; first, to falsify the election returns, and, second, to put down the armed revolt.

Senor Desvernine is not the only Cuban in this country who takes the stand that "intellect" and "birth" should control Cuba—for Cuba's benefit. They point to the undoubted fact that the present administration of President Mario Menocal has been exceedingly honest and efficient when thrown against the dark background of the frauds perpetrated in the administration of Jose Miguel Gomez.

Different From American Negro.

But Cubans, like Americans, do not like a rule imposed upon them, even for their own benefit. The Cuban negro, especially, is tenacious of his rights. He is far different from the American negro—more ambitious and more independent.

Negroes formed a large share of the army of independence. These veterans of the war with Spain do not allow any man to take precedence of them simply because he is a white man. It is also to be remembered that there is not the distinct color line drawn in Havana and other Cuban towns which we take for granted in the United States. Many negroes have held high offices in the government. Their social position is often one of which few American negroes would ever dream.

If the present revolutionary spirit is quelled with the help of American troops, it is bound to break forth again. This is the opinion of the men here best acquainted with conditions in Cuba. The germs of unrest, feeding on a feeling of injustice, cannot easily be destroyed.

The negroes in the last few years have increased so in power and in wealth that they now demand the complete enjoyment of their constitutional rights and they are forcing the issue.

Santa Clara and Oriente, two provinces that are traditional Liberal strongholds, are the centers of the present troubles. Santa Clara is the home of Gen. Gomez and of Gen. Guzman, the Liberal leader who has been clamoring for American

supervision of the new elections.

Oriente occupies the extreme eastern end of the island. It has been a hotbed of disturbance for years. The population is about half negro.

In the eastern part of Cuba the rebellion scored its greatest initial success, when Maj. Rigoberto Fernandez, military commander of an insurgent force, seized Santiago and notified the United States that he had mined the harbor.

It was this notable blow in the insurgent cause which stirred Washington into action.

Twice the American army has intervened in Cuba since the war of 1895. Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood commanded our forces in the occupation of 1900-1902, while Maj. Gen. Thomas W. Barry was the leader of the 1906-1907 expedition. In the latter case Gen. Barry had 7,000 troops, but was never compelled to do any fighting.

Army Efficient Force.

The Cuban regular army is now considered an efficient force. It consists of 11,000 men, garbed almost exactly like American troops. A United States army officer has been detailed by request to train the Cuban forces. They are well equipped and make a good showing. But President Menocal has not all the army behind him. This is a compliment to his honor in a way which seems curious to Americans. The preceding president—Gomez—now a leader in the revolt, had promoted military men of his party wholesale, without regard to merit. When Menocal was elected, conservative army officers, brought up in Cuban ideas, expected their turn for promotion at the expense of their rivals had come. But Menocal decided that for the good of Cuba the merit system must be upheld. This had the effect of alienating conservative army officers without attaching to him any large part of the Liberals. A good share of the army became disaffected, claiming that the president had not played fair with them.

Like President Madero of Mexico, who refused to execute Felix Diaz when he caught him, and later was unseated and slain by Diaz and Huerta, Menocal did not pursue the business of politics in traditional Spanish-American style and now he suffers for it.

Cubans, too, are ready for a revolution because they are immensely prosperous. They have been rolling in wealth since sugar almost doubled in price. Other nations might think this prosperity a cause for keeping the peace and letting the prosperity continue. But good fortune unfortunately has reacted on the Cuban temperament differently. In plain English, the Cuban thinks it is about time to go on a spree. Of course, that is not the attitude of the planters and merchants, who are mostly Conservatives, but it is the point of view of the Liberal masses.

200,000 Fictitious Names.

The Liberals think they have a good cause in the undoubted corruption of the recent elections. Not only did the registry lists, or rather the census lists, which serve as a record of the persons entitled to exercise the right of suffrage, contain no less than 200,000 fictitious names, or nearly half the number of the voting population, but repeating was practiced openly and on an enormous scale, cases of men voting eight or 10 times being common.

Neutral observers agree these frauds were committed by both sides. The Liberals accuse the administration of the bulk of the frauds and the Conservatives retort with a like charge.

The Liberals further say the administration used the army to drive Liberals away from the polls, manipulated the votes after they were cast and falsified the returns.

It is a fact that when the Liberals seemed to be winning the administration suddenly seized telephone and telegraph lines and the returns began coming in very slowly. There followed court contests, and finally it was decided to hold elections in certain districts over again.

Either believing that these elections would not be fairly held, or despairing of correct, but in good taste, although he

success anyway, the Liberals raised the standard of revolt before the results of the by-elections were announced.

The leading figures in Cuba today are: President Menocal, whose term does not expire until May 20.

Gen. Gomez, president preceding Menocal. He was in early life an unlettered plantation foreman. He is considered the shrewdest politician in Cuba and is the wealthiest man in the island. He has wonderful powers of oratory. Gomez was one of the factors of disorder which brought about the last American intervention.

Dr. Alfred Zayas, who was Liberal candidate for president in the recent elections. He is generally considered the stalking horse of Gomez, a man of immeasurably greater ability and power.

Dr. Orestes Ferrara, speaker of the House of Representatives. He is a Liberal and recently called upon President Menocal to resign for the good of Cuba.

EXPRESS
PORTLAND, ME.

MAR 22 1917

UNCLE SAM IN THE CARIBBEAN

V. Tropical Socialism.

By Frederic J. Haskin.

CHRISTIANSTED, St. Croix, D. W. I., Mar. 22.—It seems incongruous that in this sleepy, pretty little island the struggle between money and muscle should be waged just as intensely, if not quite so vigorously, as in Chicago or New York; and that socialism should have found a foothold here in the Caribbean, which is the storied home of piracy, slavery, and every other form of primitive and lawless individualism.

Yet socialism is just now engaging the attention of St. Croix to the exclusion of almost everything else, and his island could probably muster a heavier socialist vote in proportion to its population, if it had an effective electorate, than any other part of the world. For Hamilton Jackson, whose word is divine law to almost every negro on the island, has announced that he is a socialist, and has mapped out a complete program for the socialization of the island.

Jackson wants a committee of Congress to come to St. Croix and study conditions; then he believes they will see that he is right. The planters want a detachment of marines to come to St. Croix and put "that Nigger right back in his place." It will be mighty hard for Uncle Sam to please everybody in St. Croix.

On the otherwise bare walls of the office from which Hamilton Jackson edits his newspaper and administers his savings bank and his labor union, hangs a large, cheap portrait of Booker T. Washington, for the founder of Tuskegee is the model and inspiration of the young St. Croix Negro who has set out to win freedom for his people. And from all that can be learned Jackson is fully the equal of Washington in mental ability. Even the whites of St. Croix admit that he is an orator of real power. His use of the English language, as seen in his newspaper is not only forcible and correct, but in good taste, although he

has a Rooseveltian propensity to apply the short and ugly to his enemies in print.

Jackson also has what is more useful and more dangerous than any amount of mere brains; he has power of leadership. The Negroes of St. Croix, who have lived in slavery or peonage for centuries, who had no conception of collective effort before his coming, he has organized into an effective labor union, and an absolutely splendid personal following. Furthermore he has filled these people with a blind veneration for himself; the Negroes of St. Croix openly speak of Jackson as a god, and attribute to him supernatural powers.

Jackson is a powerful Negro, standing over six feet tall, and is but 32 years old. He is very black and happy-headed. His grandfather was a Scotchman, he says, but he wishes he could claim a pure African descent. He speaks very fluent English without the West Indian inflection, and has some command of Danish.

He has traveled in Europe and America and is well read. The basis of his philosophy is that the African Negroes are a people of possibilities which may be realized if they have proper opportunities. He points out that in some of the ancient civilizations, Negroes played an important part, and that many modern Negroes have achieved a great deal. He willingly admits that his people lack the moral stamina and indomitable will of the Aryan, but points out that in power of musical and artistic expression, they are richly endowed. He does not desire for his people social contact with the whites, believing that they can much better work out their destiny separately. But he does believe that the stronger race should give the weaker one equal civil rights, an equal opportunity to earn and own.

In the people of St. Croix Jackson has great faith. In spite of the insufficiency of the Danish schools, only about five per cent of these people are illiterate, and they are the very old ones. He asserts that the average St. Croix field hand is just about as well posted as his master. He also points out, what is true, that these people are very cleanly, do not get drunk and are frugal and thrifty in their own way. They do not work as hard as Northerners, nor as regularly, but they save and take care of their property.

It is Jackson's claim that but for his propaganda, the island would have been depopulated within half a century. He cites the figures of the Danish census to prove that between 1841 and 1911, the population decreased from about 25,000 to 15,000, and that this decrease was going on steadily, and the island being less and less efficiently cultivated. He asserts that since he has formed his union and raised wages, several thousand people have come in from the English islands, and that he is in touch with a colony of 2,500 St. Croix Negroes in New York, who are anxious to return, but are waiting to see what the United States will do.

U. S. IN THE CARIBBEAN.—IV.

By FREDERIC J. HASKIN.

St. Croix, one of the Danish islands in the West Indies just purchased by the United States, long has been in a condition bordering upon anarchy. The nearest thing to a ruling power is a Negro, who has organized his fellows against the handful of Danish and Irish landowners. This man, Hamilton Jackson, has made himself easily the most feared and famous individual in that island world. The planters see in him a menace to life and property; he is safe chiefly because if anything happened to him every black on the island would rise to revenge him.

Nor would it be the first time the blacks of St. Croix have risen against their masters. The story of this island has been that of one long struggle between the blacks and the whites. Always the land here has been owned by a few white men. At present there are only eleven separate holdings of sugar land, and there never were more than a hundred. Long ago slaves were brought from Africa to cultivate these lands. They always outnumbered the whites a hundred to one, and their condition was always peculiarly hopeless because their tiny island offered no hope of either escape or of bettering their condition. It is recorded that in 1733 the slaves revolted against their masters and killed and burned. When the revolt had been put down the royal council issued a proclamation which contained among others the following articles:

"The leaders of runaway slaves shall be pinched three times with red-hot irons and then hung. Each runaway slave shall lose one leg, or, if pardoned by his master, one ear, and shall receive 150 stripes. Slaves who steal to the value of four rix-dollars shall be pinched and hung. One white person shall be sufficient witness against a slave, and if suspected he may be tried by torture."

Despite the measures taken to hold them under the spell of fear the slaves of St. Croix rose in revolt in 1848 and forced the governor of the islands to read a proclamation setting them free. This, however, made little change in their actual condition. They owned no land and were dependent upon the planters for a roof. A contract labor law was passed which made their condition much the same as before. In 1879 they revolted against the contract labor law, killed many of the planters, and burned Christiansted to the ground. The contract labor law was abolished. Yet the condition of the people was little changed.

Only in the light of this troubled past can the present problems of St. Croix be understood. It is an island of peaceful and pleasant ways, of sunshine and color and a sort of leisurely industry of planting and reaping; soft laughter and the tinkle of guitars fill the streets in the evening; the people seem carefree and contented, but they have a heritage of bloodshed and oppression. The lives of the blacks have always been essentially hopeless, and they have struck against their oppressors again and again. In the songs of the Negroes there is a plaintive note, and under its surface of laughter and music the life of the island is what it has always been—a struggle between the few who have and the many who have not.

The organization of a labor union here is but a revolt of slaves in another form. For although freemen in name, these people still are practically peons. But they have gone to the schools and found a leader, and they know of better ways to assert themselves than did the generation that burned Christiansted. They have twice gone on strike, have forced their wages up from twenty-five to forty cents a day, and are now demanding shorter hours of work.

Hamilton Jackson has become his own police and his own court. He calls disputants before him and renders judgments. It should be said in his favor that he has conducted his strikes without disorder, and has prevented the Negroes from burning any cane fields, which they used to do frequently.

UNION

Springfield, Mass.

Uncle Sam in the Caribbean

X.—THE PEOPLE AND THEIR NEEDS.

By Frederic J. Haskin.

(Special Correspondence of The Union.)

CHARLOTTE AMALIE, St. Thomas,

D. W. I. March 16.—The Thomians, al-

though largely African in descent, are in

spirit a most cosmopolitan people. For

three centuries they have been enter-

taining the ships of all the world, and

no nationality is a stranger to them.

They know exactly what to expect al-

most of every crew that enters their

harbor. When a certain British captain

makes port, they muster their resources

in Scotch whisky and get ready to give

a dance. A Dutch man-of-war came in

the other day, and the sailors and offi-

cers were just as cordially received and

even found people who spoke their own

language. When an American warship

anchors here, the old and cripple get

off the streets and the police disappear,

but no hostile animus is shown in these

precautions; they merely show an esti-

mate of the American temperament,

which is fully justified by subsequent

events. The Americans, in effect, take

over the town for a day or so and leave

the Thomians breathless, grinning and

heavily ballasted with small change.

The Thomian cosmopolitanism is shown

in the way holidays are observed here.

There is absolutely no partiality. The

Fourth of July is celebrated just as en-

thusiastically as the birth of the Dan-

ish King, and the only occasions neg-

lected are those the Thomians never

heard about.

This effect of having occupied a promi-

nent place in the shipping world is fur-

ther shown in the names of young Tho-

mians. Thus the waiters at one hotel

include an Ivan, a Chauncey and a Hans,

all having dark complexions and kinky

hair. In the matter of religion, too,

there is wide variety of sects, including

Roman Catholics, Anglican Episcopalian,

Moravian, Methodist, Wesleyan,

Dutch Reformed, Lutheran, Seventh Day

Adventist, Baptist and five different va-

rieties of Hebrew, including colored ones.

As a natural result of his advantages

the Thomian is a well-informed man. He

seems to know something about almost

any subject that comes up, and he likes

nothing better than to sit on a bench

along the waterfront in the evening and

discuss international politics with great

eloquence and energy. Just at present

he is considerably impressed with the

importance of his own islands as a factor

in the affairs of the world.

In spite of his cosmopolitanism, the

Thomian will not have to be "American-

ized." He knows all about the United

States, speaks what he imagines to be

the English language, has a great ad-

miration for our republic and a complete

and receptive willingness to become a

worker. He demands leisure for the en-

part of it, and to share in the liberty, joyment of life. He may not have a

equality and prosperity for which we pair of shoes, but he lives like an

are famous. The Thomian thinks there English lord nevertheless, scorning to

is nothing the United States cannot do worry about material things, cultivating

if it wants to. A small black boy was

heard to remark the other day that The average American is not able to

when the Yankees comes to St. Thomas appreciate a way of life different from

they will have snow here. his own, which is founded upon morality

If this particular wonder is beyond and thrift. The West Indian is neither

our powers, we can nevertheless do won-moral nor thrifty. But he is intelligent

ders for the island people. The Thomians, and capable of delicate and finished

like the people of St. Croix, with the exception of a few large property owners, want a civil government, including a local assembly elected without any property qualification for the franchise.

Their other most obvious needs are for a good industrial school and an agricultural experiment station.

The Thomians are a clever people, and often make good mechanics and carpenters with little training. Given a good vocational school, many of them would become artisans and skilled workers and these would find employment in the harbor improvements, fortifications and barracks which the Government will erect on the island. In this way the people would be given occupation and much needed capital would stay in St. Thomas which might otherwise be carried back to the States.

An agricultural experiment station would almost undoubtedly solve the problem of what to do with the unused soil of St. Thomas. This island, which once bore crops, today supports nothing but a few cattle, and does not even produce enough fruits, vegetables and poultry for its own consumption. The land is held by a few large owners, and no tax is paid upon uncultivated land under the Danish law. Some of the Negroes rent small patches, but it is said that possession under a lease is not secure enough to make much improvement worth while. Hence St. Thomas presents the strange spectacle of an arable island which is a waste, although 12,000 people live upon it and many of them are in need of food.

Now St. Thomas could certainly produce its own fruits, vegetables and poultry, and it could probably produce a profitable crop of some fiber plant, provided the people are put upon the land. American Consul Payne, who has been in St. Thomas 12 years and is a careful observer, says that if given a chance to own land the people would be very glad to cultivate it. Maximilian Trepuk, a very intelligent Hebrew merchant, and other prominent business men agree that the people would make good cultivators, and that to put them back on the soil would make St. Thomas self-supporting, help business and make the island a much more pleasant and inexpensive place to live for the Americans who are to be sent here.

The only way to accomplish this, of course, would be to buy the land from the present owners and sell it back to the people in small tracts, as the Government does land on its Western irrigation projects. Engineers say that a storage irrigation system could be established on St. Thomas which would greatly increase its productivity. If the lands of St. Thomas were bought by the United States government and handed over to the able administration of the Interior Department as a reclamation project, there seems to be little doubt but that the island could be brought back under cultivation and the people raised from their condition of helpless poverty. Some observers believe that title to the land should remain in the Government which would lease it in order to prevent it from getting into a few hands again.

Of course the practicability of giving the Thomians what they want in the way of self-government and an opportunity to own land, depends upon these people. A commission is to be sent by the State Department to investigate the islands, and its real problem will be to determine how intelligent and responsible the people are.

The island Negroes are poor and for that reason they go barefooted and often dress in rags. Furthermore, it is true that the West Indian is not a systematic and receptive willingness to become a worker. He demands leisure for the en-part of it, and to share in the liberty, joyment of life. He may not have a equality and prosperity for which we pair of shoes, but he lives like an are famous. The Thomian thinks there English lord nevertheless, scorning to is nothing the United States cannot do worry about material things, cultivating if it wants to. A small black boy was

heard to remark the other day that The average American is not able to when the Yankees comes to St. Thomas appreciate a way of life different from they will have snow here. his own, which is founded upon morality

If this particular wonder is beyond and thrift. The West Indian is neither our powers, we can nevertheless do won-moral nor thrifty. But he is intelligent ders for the island people. The Thomians, and capable of delicate and finished

workmanship, he is less of a toiler than the American, but more of an artist. Although he drinks, he is sober, and although not moral he is happy. His way of life is not ours, but perhaps there are some tips we could profitably take from him.

It must also be said in favor of the St. Thomas Negro that as a rule he is cleanly and takes good care of his property.

The Negroes of the town live almost entirely by harbor work. They used to get a cent a basket for coaling vessels. Being unable to live upon that amount, they struck and now get two cents a basket. At this rate it is possible for a strong man to make \$2 a day, but there are so few vessels that he seldom gets the chances. Women also work at the coaling docks. Other dock hands get \$2 to \$3 a week.

A typical country Negro rents a few acres of land, upon which he pastures five cows. He sells six bottles of milk a day for five cents a bottle. He works for a wrecker at 50 cents a day, and in odd moments burns a little charcoal. His total income is about \$5.50 a week. He has a wife and six children. This man was a hard worker and was considered exceptionally prosperous.

Such Negroes as this make up the bulk of the island population. They are industrious in their own way, despite all testimony to the contrary; and they are happy as children are happy, always laughing, fond of music. But they are not content. It is not true as some of the whites will tell you, that they have no conception of any other condition, and are satisfied with their lot. They were long slaves, and won the ownership of their bodies by revolt. Their story has been that of a long and patient waiting for a fuller freedom. Some of them are true cynics, and believe that whatever changes come over and island there

As a reader of The Independent for more than twenty-five years past continuously, I write to express to you my keen appreciation of the fine spirit exhibited in your editorial in your issue of yesterday on the "Danish West India Islands," with special reference to the suggestion that "the officials appointed should be men . . . who will respect the self-respect that is characteristic of the negroes of the Danish Islands."

I am sure that thousands of thoughtful colored men and women throughout our country will rejoice and be exceedingly glad as they read that broad-minded and large-hearted suggestion from the editor of The Independent. Already there have come to the front very many signs of deep concern on the part of thinking colored people in this country as to the future of the colored inhabitants of those islands in the hands of the American white man. His traditional attitude toward the colored people—every-

where and always—has not been inspiring, to say the least; and when brought to sudden control over the destiny the rights and the daily life of a class of colored people whose past history and experience and environment are such as have been the lot of those West India Islanders, the situation readily lends itself to much misgiving for the future unless that class of white men—and there is such a class in this country—who love righteousness and pursue it shall be put at the head of the affairs there.

HENRY E. BAKER

Washington, D. C.

Haiti and the Negro Problem

By THE REV. ARTHUR R. GRAY, D.D.

SINCE the fell day on which that fine old saint, Bartholomew de Las Casas, who by the way ought to be in our diptychs, made the ever memorable blunder of suggesting African slavery as a method of obviating the necessity of forcing labor upon the Indians, the Negro problem has been upon us. The only bright spot that I can find in it is a dark one, namely, that we can take heart when we remember that a man like Fray Bartholomew could make such a mistake. God knows he lived to rue the happy thought, as he imagined it to be—for about five minutes.

However, the problem sits athwart our chest like some dread nightmare, and the sooner we remember that there is no use indulging in our pet Caucasian weakness of trying to reduce swollen facts with ointments of theory the better.

And so I would thrust under your nose this enigma for the purpose of awakening you to the crushing fact that there is a way of partial solution, a way which is blessedly free from theorizing and entirely concerned with facts. I say a partial solution, for it only pretends to accomplish a certain amount of what has to be done; but, as we have learned from our cradles, half the job is in the starting.

To put it in prescription-like brevity, this is the theme I have to develop: Haiti is the beginning to the solution of the Negro problem; by concentrating on work in that island the Church can accomplish more for our brethren than in any other way. Let us see.

What is the Negro problem anyway? Can we ask and answer honestly, without giving offense? I hope so, and shall let my record of good will stand against any possible misinterpretation. If the slippery lead with which I write betrays me into some apparent flippancy or sophistry, forgive me and believe me that I am on my metaphorical knees as I write upon this solemn and dread subject.

The Negro problem is not, as Mr. Chesterton would put it, the Negro problem but the Caucasian problem. It is not the Black Man who makes the difficulties but the White Man. By which I mean to say that the alarms we hear on all sides are due to the Anglo-Saxon's proficiency, super-proficiency, rather than to the Black Man's deficiency. To aver anything else is to take the position of the gilded youth who claims that everybody obstructs his passage when he wants to burn down Michigan Avenue at forty miles an hour. The slow-moving vehicle or body is the average body, and this is a world wherein the average person has the right of way. Our laws and customs are based upon the rule of the average man, and the Anglo-Saxon, to revert to our metaphor, with his high-power car is really the one in the way; that is to say he is in the way so long as he forgets his good manners and faults others for blocking the road. When, arrogantly, he thinks that his kind, numbering a few hundred million, can elbow off the road those, numbering several billions, who cannot move so quickly, one really feels it's time to call in the traffic cop. If we were using nautical parlance we would refer to the rules of right of way, according to which in all the harbors and seas of the world the sailboat has the right of way over its more fortunate steam-driven rival. Oh, for some race manners and a dose large enough for Behemoth of *noblesse oblige*—German papers please copy.

Such is the Caucasian problem which brought upon itself that by-product, which we call the Negro problem, four hundred years ago. You remember how it happened; how our impetuous forbears in order to speed up the development of the New World imported thousands of their slower-moving brethren from the West Coast of Africa. Strange irony of fate that they got their slow-moving brethren to enable them to go faster. They did not have to have them, it was merely a case of not being willing to open up the Western wilderness at a rate, let us say to maintain our metaphor, of ten miles

an hour. They had the get-rich-quick scorpion in their bonnets and, as we would say in these days, were ready to suspend any and all immigration laws to accelerate the gathering in of gold.

When common sense overtook them, and they dropped their brethren, they began talking, oh, the folly of in-spissate youth, about the Negro problem!

The second point I want to make is that whatever efforts are put forth to solve this secondary problem, one must remember that the United States is a White Man's country. Japan is for the Japanese, China is for the Chinese, Africa is for Africans, and America is for the Anglo-Saxons. Our saying so doesn't make it so because God had the determination of this matter long before our vocables came into use. There is no use blinking and talking about the homes of the free, etc., for that is merely to drop back again into anointing facts with theories; into putting, let us say, chloroform liniment on a major fracture.

Joyfully we can and will make our brethren of other colors at home in this land. Gladly we shall always treat them as honored guests and put them in our best spare bedroom and kill hecatombs of fatted calves for them—but it gets you nowhere. We can give both hands of fellowship to the Japanese, but their habitat will always be Japan, and we can pour out gallons of good cheer upon Africans, but their home will never be here—they can at best be our honored guests.

This at once suggests the serious handicap under which such schools as St. Paul's, Lawrenceville and St. Augustine's, Raleigh, and Hampton and Tuskegee labor. To what can they point their graduates beyond participation as guests in the progress and good things of America? How would Groton feel if it knew that none of its graduates could ever really be at home in the land? Every time this thought strikes me I want to go literally down on my knees and pray for noble leaders like Archdeacon Russell and Archdeacon Delaney and many another man of God who finds himself in their position. The enormity of the crime which we white joy riders of civilization committed in bringing our slow-moving brethren over here was so great that a world court today could scarcely do less than hang us—unless some statute of limitations could be made to apply.

So much for the situation. What is the panacea without the pan? My answer is Haiti.

Down to the south of us, occupying the western third of the old island of Española is the Black Republic. A land it is of inconceivable fertility. The million and a quarter who live there today could be increased to fifteen million without taxing the resources of the soil. Given a fair chance, the people can and will increase in wisdom and stature and in favor with God and their critically minded fellowmen. Being one of those who believe outspoken that eventually the Black Man will be capable of governing himself I assert that the whole thing is merely a matter of time, of speed. The mythical sons of Ham differ from us not in kind but degree. They are today where we were, let us say, in the thirteenth century. Some day they will reach the twentieth and will make of Haiti a republic of which they can well be proud. Give them time and a chance; don't yield to the journalistic fault of judging the whole world from a twenty-four-hour point of view. *Sub specie aeternitatis* ought to be burnt into the brain of every newspaper editor in this land. I get desperately tired of their taking a day's or a year's experience as a criterion, and this applies particularly to the productions of so-called scientific and literary people.

A good beginning has already been made in Haiti. Uncle Sam has sent down a splendid lot of Marines who are busy teaching the people how to administer their finances and how to organize their police, and indirectly how to run their schools; in other words how to govern. But men with guns can do no more than schoolmarm

Segregation In Porto Rico

PORTO RICANS CHARGE SEGREGATION

HAS BEEN IMPOSED ON THEM

The Bee, March 30, 1918

Claim Unanimous Petition of House and Senate Disregarded; Islanders Bitter — Division Hitherto Unknown.

4035 New York City Churchman
APRIL 6, 1918

(By F. B. Parden, Returned War Correspondent from Europe.)

San Juan, P. R.—A flame of indignation swept through the length and breadth of the island of Porto Rico on being told that the United States time-odious custom of racial separation in the army would be put in practice upon them.

A petition in the form of a resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Manuel F. Rossy, one of the white members, setting forth in detail and eloquence the injustice and inhumanity of forcing discrimination on a country wherein it was hitherto unknown. The resolution was not only adopted unanimously by the lower house, but passed the Senate without a single dissenting vote.

Petition Ignored.

The resolution was presented to President Wilson and it was ignored. The Porto Rican regiment that was formerly mixed was cut to pieces and men of color put in separate divisions; all the draftees have been separated and shoved into quarters according to color. Porto Rico has no higher appeal; it is bitter, indignant, but helpless.

Introduced by Republican Leader.

Representative Mr. Manuel Rossy, who introduced the resolution, is the leader of the Republican minority in the lower house. In studied and telling language Mr. Rossy presented the reasons why Porto Rico objected to the division based on color. All the debate and communication in the Legislature of that country is carried on in Spanish and much of the original dignity and beauty of the expressions is lost when translated into English. Here follows a translation of the resolution as it appeared in El Tempo leading daily paper of San Juan:

To request from the President of the United States that no racial difference be made between Porto Rican privates and between officers.

"WHEREAS, it has just been completed in this island the recruiting of the 12,833 men that correspond to Porto Rico, and who will form part of the great army of the United States."

Cites Purpose of the War.

"Which has for its duty the spread of democracy and the spirit of liberty throughout the world, and which will try to maintain the regime of democracy so that nations may govern themselves and men may live in happiness;

"WHEREAS, the rumor has spread throughout the island that an order might be given out by the national executive for separating the Porto Rican officers and soldiers in groups as to whether they belong to the white or colored races.

"WHEREAS, this rumor has caused a great consternation in the minds of all Porto Ricans, because so far, fortunately, there exists no division among them, neither by racial origin nor by their religious beliefs, existing therefore among our Porto Ricans there is but one fraternity wherein we labor together for the welfare of Porto Rico.

"WHEREAS, there exists in this sense a tolerance which is greater than in any other country of the world, because the racial differences among men have never been taken account of here because there rests in the heart of our Porto Ricans here the spirit of a great democracy."

Mr. Rossy Quotes Christ.

"and also the spirit of the doctrine preached by Jesus Christ in order that we may all be brothers for we are the children of God."

"THEREFORE, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of Porto Rico to request the President of the United States that no division be established on account of races between Porto Rican officers who are to form a part of the great army of the United States, and it would neither be humane nor political to establish these differences which up to the present time they have not established themselves, nor wished to establish."

* * * * *

Porto Rico has long been celebrated for the unity of the races there. Members of the darker race are in every branch of industrial and civil life. The largest department store in San Juan, the Capitol, is owned by a Negro. The senior member of the Senate, who has held his seat for four consecutive appointments by the President of the United States and by an open election, is a Negro. The judge corresponding to our circuit judge and having under his jurisdiction the metropolis of Porto Rico, San Juan, is a Negro. The Commissioner of Trades and Labor is a Negro.

The Mayors of numerous towns of Porto Rico are Negroes.

HERE AND THERE WITHIN THE SPHERE

April 1918

WHO IS WHO IN JAMAICA—And now we have "Who Is Who in Jamaica," and as might be expected by those who know the social conditions of that Island the "Who's Who" embraces men of parts regardless of race or previous condition. In this respect probably Jamaica is unique, for no "Who is Who" in any of our American cities or communities ventures across the color line. It might be interesting to the reader of this Review to know the names and business of the colored Jamaicans who have been thought worthy of a place in this publication. The following names, therefore, add credit to each and all occupations among the hundreds in which they are found.

Justices of the Peace—A. H. Armstrong, C. H. Armstrong, Henry I. Brown, Henry R. Cargill, merchant, planter and politician; Hon. Charles H. Hewitt and Joseph H. Levy.

Ministers—Rev. Henry C. Bowen, Rev. George A. Brown, Rev. Egbert E. Brown, Rev. M. B. Burgess, Rev. A. A. Barclay, Rev. W. M. Christie, Rev. Philip Collymore.

Physicians—Albert A. Ayton, Thos. Mackenzie Bartless, Homer H. Blair, William A. Browne, George P. Campbell and Charles Levy.

Journalists—Hon. David A. Corin-aldi, Nathaniel Parker, Thomas A. Vilmeney and Dunbar T. Wint.

Among other professions are: Al-

fred G. Nash, civil engineer; Septimus H. Whittingham, surveyor; Edward D. Kinkead, chemist and druggist; Henry Levy, mechanical and electrical engineer; Kenneth G. MacCormick, composer of music; W. A. Carpenter, proprietor of several acres of land; M. L. Burke, pharmacist; Hon. John J. Calder, sugar planter, and S. J. Bonitto, optician.

One might indefinitely increase this number but the list just cited shows both the character and work and the ambition of the aspirant, who is leading the race along different avenues of advancement in the noted British Isles.

* * * * *

EVEN THE POLICEMEN IN TOKIO are sharing in Japanese war prosperity. Of the 5000 bluecoats in the capital, 3683 have had their salaries raised, so that now an ordinary, everyday "copper" draws from \$7.50 to \$12.50 as his monthly stipend. This is an increase of about \$1 per month. Even richer remuneration is given the senior policemen, who now receive between \$10 and \$14 monthly, while the salaries of the assistant sergeants, under the new order, will range as high as \$12 and \$16.

There are several classes of war workers earning this salary twice each in America.

PROCLAMATION.

New York
Tribune
12/15/18

WHEREAS:—A Treaty was concluded between the United States of America and the Republic of Santo Domingo on February 8, 1907, Article III of which reads:

“Until the Dominican Republic has paid the whole amount of the bonds of the debt its public debt shall not be increased except by previous agreement between the Dominican Government and the United States. A like agreement shall be necessary to modify the import duties, it being an indispensable condition for the modification of such duties that the Dominican Executive demonstrate and that the President of the United States recognize that, on the basis of exportations and importations of the like amount and the like character during the two years preceding that in which it is desired to make such modification, the total net customs receipts would at such altered rates of duties have been for each of such two years in excess of the sum or \$2,000,000 United States gold; and

WHEREAS: The Government of Santo Domingo has violated the said Article III on more than one occasion; and

WHEREAS: The Government of Santo Domingo has from time to time explained such violation by the necessity of incurring expenses incident to the repression of revolution, and

WHEREAS: The United States Government, with great forbearance and with a friendly desire to enable Santo Domingo to maintain domestic tranquility and observe the terms of the aforesaid Treaty, has urged upon the Government of Santo Domingo certain necessary measures which that Government has been unwilling or unable to adopt, and

WHEREAS: In consequence domestic tranquility has been disturbed and is not now established, nor is the future observance of the Treaty by the Government of Santo Domingo assured; and

WHEREAS: The Government of the United States, is determined a party, or in which are involved that the time has come to take measures to insure the observance of the provisions of the aforesaid Treaty by the Republic of Santo Domingo and to maintain the domestic tranquility in the said Republic of Santo Domingo necessary thereto

KNAPP, Captain, United States Navy, commanding the Cruiser Force of the United States Atlantic Fleet, and the armed forces of the United States stationed in various places within the territory of the Republic of Santo Domingo, acting under the authority and by the direction of the Government of the United States, declare and announce to all concerned that the Republic of Santo Domingo is hereby placed in a state of Military Occupation by the forces under my command, and is made subject to Military Government and to the exercise of military law applicable to such occupation

NOW, THEREFORE, I, H. S. KNAPP, Captain, United States Navy, commanding the Cruiser Force of the United States Atlantic Fleet, and the armed forces of the United States stationed in various places within the territory of the Republic of Santo Domingo, acting under the authority and by the direction of the Government of the United States, declare and announce to all concerned that the Republic of Santo Domingo is hereby placed in a state of Military Occupation by the forces under my command, and is made subject to Military Government and to the exercise of military law applicable to such occupation

This Military Occupation is undertaken with no immediate or ulterior object of destroying the sovereignty of the Republic of Santo Domingo, but, on the contrary, is designed to give aid to that country in returning to a condition of internal order that will enable it to observe the terms of the Treaty aforesaid; and the obligations resting upon it as one of the family of nations.

Dominican statutes, therefore, will continue in effect in so far as they do not conflict with the objects of the Occupation or necessary regulations established thereunder, and their lawful administration will continue in the hands of such duly authorized Dominican officials as may be necessary, all under the oversight and control of the United States Forces exercising Military Government.

The ordinary administration of justice, both in civil and criminal matters, through the regular constituted Dominican courts will not be interfered with by the Military Government herein established; but cases to which a member of the Uni-

All revenue accruing to the Dominican Government, including revenues hitherto accrued and unpaid, whether from customs duties under the terms of the Treaty concluded on February 8, 1907, the Receiver-ship established by which remains in effect, or from internal revenue—shall be paid to the Military Government herein established which will, in trust for the Republic of Santo Domingo, hold such revenue and will make all the proper legal disbursements therefrom necessary for the administration of the Dominican Government, and for the purposes of the Occupation.

I call upon the citizens of, and residents and sojourners in, Santo Domingo, to cooperate with the Forces of the United States in Occupation to the end that the purposes thereof may promptly be attained, and that the country may be restored to domestic order and tranquility, and to the prosperity that can be attained only under such conditions.

The Forces of the United States in Occupation will act in accordance with military law governing their conduct, with due respect for the personal and property rights of citizens of, and residents and sojourners in, Santo Domingo, upholding Dominican laws in so far as they do not conflict with the purposes for which the Occupation is undertaken.

H. S. KNAPP

Captain United States Navy,
Commander Cruiser Force,
United States Atlantic Fleet.

U. S. S. OLYMPIA Flagship,
Santo Domingo City, R. D.
November 29, 1916.

At last the few hundred denizens of the Virgin Islands—formerly the Danish West Indies—are citizens of this country in a qualified sense. There are those who have preferred to retain Danish, or other citizenship, but, for the most part, we have accumulated some new colonials above whom wave the Stars and Stripes to which they have this week sworn their allegiance.

It cost the nation \$25,000,000 to secure the islands, and it is a striking testimony to the march of events that, although two years ago the sum seemed large, at this time anything which deals with millions in national expenditure seems almost inconsequential. We are thinking now in billions.

Commercially the islands mean little to us; we would have paid nothing for them on that account. Strategically they are important, and it is a rather curious fact that in many respects the most handsomely housed employe of the United States is the naval officer who happens for the time being to be the governor of the islands. The palace is vast and elaborately furnished. It must seem ironical to the naval officer who gets a few hundred dollars a month at most to rule a handful of Negroes, mestizos and whites from a palace which makes the White House seem a modest dwelling.

Let us welcome the Virgin Islanders to our national bosom. They have cost us dear, but we believe they are worth the price—taken in connection with their real estate and harbors. It was from this Caribbean quarter—or from the not distant isle of Nevis, that came Alexander Hamilton. Possibly the same islands will one day furnish us with a President of the United States.

Santo Domingo Asks the Stars and Stripes for Square Deal

New York Tribune
12/15/18

By Kincheloe Robbins

SCRUTINY of the names of the 150 eminent specialists who are prepared, as living encyclopedias, to enlighten Mr. Wilson and the diplomats assembling at Versailles on all point which may be raised in discussion has been a bit discouraging to many of my colleagues. An elderly copyreader complains that they are, even when backed by three truckloads of literary ballast carried by the George Washington, lightweights. To say that they are unknown would be, he admits, a violation of a rule much honored in most newspaper offices, so he contents himself with insisting that they are "unidentified."

Anticipating this obvious criticism, the President has taken with him as Specialist No. 151 a gentleman whose authority may not be questioned, or at any rate has not been questioned for several years, in the person of Rear Admiral Harry S. Knapp.

Who is Harry S. Knapp?

I have just had the honor of pointing out that he is Specialist No. 151, aboard the George Washington. But he has been more than that. He has been Military Governor of the Dominican Republic, and may be still, for there is no reason why an admiral in the United States navy should not be the Military Governor of an independent Latin republic, if the President so desires, and as he keeps in touch, or can keep in touch, with Santo Domingo City by wireless, and has no Congress on his hands there, he may still be pro-consul of the United States for the Dominican Republic, *in partibus infidelium*.

A People Ruled by a Rear Admiral

But as Specialist No. 151 Rear Admiral Knapp will be prepared to explain at all times just what President Wilson means when he speaks of the rights of small nations, the self-determination of peoples, and to elucidate obscure points in the President's famous Mobile address, in which he devoted several hundred words to Latin-American affairs. He may even sit in the peace conference as Chief of State and High Commissioner of the Dominican Republic, for since his happy advent in that country it has had no other head. And who

shall question his authority?

As Chief Magistrate with extraordinary and plenipotentiary power, Rear Admiral Knapp has only to exhibit the proclamation he issued in Santo Domingo City on taking over the government, a photograph of which accompanies this article. And for the purpose of explaining Mr. Wilson's attitude toward such countries as Hayti, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Honduras, etc. Specialist No. 151 is himself a Living Human Document.

Having thus established the powers and set forth the duties of Specialist No. 151, I disclaim once and for all the slightest intention of adverse criticism of him, either as an officer or a man. He is a real sailor, with the amiable qualities of his profession. And to the best of my knowledge, he is an able administrator, faithful to the last in carrying out the orders of his superiors, and exact in enforcing obedience from his subordinates. He has done the best he could. What he has done in detail, and why, may some day be subjects for a Congressional investigation, in which event he will doubtless be able to show that his every act was, if not ordered, at least authorized by Secretary Daniels or Secretary Lansing, both of whom have a voice in the management of Caribbean affairs, or by the President himself.

Should such an investigation ever be undertaken, it will be found that the problems of Hayti and the Dominican Republic, while intimately involved, must be considered separately. Until they were seized by armed forces of the United States, these two governments divided between them the island of Hispaniola, or Hayti-Santo Domingo, which was the first seat of government of the white race in the New World. Hayti, with a population estimated in 1912 at 1,400,000, occupied the western third of the island, her territory being 10,204 square miles. The Dominican Republic, with a population of only 610,000 in that year, held the remainder of the island, 18,015 square miles. It will be noted that the combined territory approximates that of Ireland. The racial and political differences between the Haytians and the Dominicans are no less acute and ineradicable than between the Orangemen and the Southern Irish, so that the United States has taken unto itself an almost similarly vexing complication, while volunteering advice to Great Britain in the solution of the Irish question.

What the United States has done for the free and indivisible Republic of Hayti in the matter of a constitution has been set forth in an earlier issue of The Tribune Review. But, at least, Mr. Wilson left to

the Haytians a nominal independence and a nominal government of and by native born citizens of Hayti.

Specialist No. 151 was promoted from captain to rear admiral for having upset the existing government of the Dominican Republic by his famous proclamation, because the Dominicans declined to enter into a convention with the United States similar to that which made it possible for Mr. Wilson to usurp supreme power in Hayti. It was not difficult for the Dominicans to foresee the fate in store for them. Aware that they could not cope with the United States in arms, they became for the first time in a generation a united people. The Dominican Congress elected to the presidency of the republic Don Francesco Henriquez y Carvajal, a gentleman of unquestioned patriotism, who had been living for many years in Santiago de Cuba, where he practiced medicine, and who was remote from political intrigue of every kind. The election was held in due form, and apparently with the approval of the American government, as the American Minister, Mr. Russell, announced the result to the consuls in the republic. A coalition cabinet was formed, which included the most important of conflicting political interests. But, having placed the revenues of the country in the hands of the American government by the treaty of 1917, Specialist No. 151 ordered C. H. Baxter, a New Jersey newspaper man, who had been made Receiver of Customs, not to pay the bills present Dominican officials. That was the end of the Dominican Republic. The President went into exile and was followed by all the members of his Cabinet, save one; the Congress was disbanded, and Captain Knapp, U. S. N., became "El Supremo." He constituted the *de facto* government as follows:

J. H. Pendleton, brigadier general, United States Marine Corps, commanding United States forces ashore in the Dominican Republic, in charge of the Department of Interior and Police, and the Department of War and Marine of the Dominican Republic.

Rufus H. Lane, lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps, administering the Department of Foreign Relations, and the Department of Justice and Public Instruction of the Dominican Republic.

I. T. Hagner, paymaster, United States navy, administering the Department of Hacienda (Treasury) and Commerce of the Dominican Republic.

C. C. Baughman, lieutenant, United States navy, administering the Department

The Problem of Diplomatic Relations

A humorous feature of this government lay in the fact that the United States continued to maintain a legation and consular service in the Dominican Republic, the minister, when not in conference with El Supremo, doing business with Colonel Lane, while El Supremo, then a captain in the United States navy, maintained a legation in Washington "near the government of the United States," as diplomatic language hath it.

Whether these gentlemen all continue to exercise their official functions or not, by wireless or otherwise, has not been disclosed by the Administration in Washington, but it is unofficially known that some of them have been physically absent from Santo Domingo and hunting Boches in France with excellent results.

It is known, however, that the Dominican Republic, never very pacific, is not now pacified.

In recent years San Pedro de Macoris, a port on the southern coast, has become a place of importance, owing to the development of the sugar industry. In the country thereabouts it is still unsafe for Americans to be abroad after dark, or to be without arms at any time, according to the testimony of a lady recently returned to the United States after a sojourn of several years on a plantation not far from that city. And more than a brigade of marines is still necessary, aided by a native constabulary, to maintain order in this land, with a population of 600,000, while the Dutch keep the teeming millions of Java in order with less than 1,200 white soldiers.

It will be interesting to know what the President and Specialist No. 151 will have to tell the peace conference about the Caribbean in general and the Dominican Republic in particular. What we want

down there is by no means clear, and never has been, either to ourselves, because discussion has hitherto been taboo, so far as Americans are concerned, and the Dominicans, who are not famous for their linguistic ability, cannot understand El Supremo's English any better than he understands their Spanish.

A Plea for a Square Deal

But what the Dominicans want is easily arrived at. They want a "square deal." They thought they would get it when they entered into the Convention of 1907. They hope for it under the next administration of affairs by the Republican party. It was, in fact, to the Republican party they turned in their hour of great distress a generation ago, asking that their country be made part of the United States. They object not so much to the fact as to the manner of American control in which respect they share the feelings of their more docile neighbors, the Haytians.

They cannot see why they should be invaded, subjugated and ruled with a rod of iron by a nation with which they were at peace, and with which they were associated by treaty relations of an unusually intimate character; especially in view of the historic fact that they had knocked at the doors of this most powerful neighbor fifty years before, craving protection and assistance, which were then denied them.

"The acquisition of Santo Domingo is desirable because of its geographical position. It commands the entrance to the Caribbean Sea and the isthmus transit of commerce. It possesses the richest soil, best and most capacious harbors, most salubrious climate and the most valuable products of the forests, mine and soil of all the West Indian islands. Its possession by us will in a few years build up a coast-wise commerce of immense magnitude, which will go far toward restoring to us our lost merchant marine. It will give to us those articles which we consume so largely and do not produce, thus equalizing our exports and imports. In case of foreign war it will give us command of all the islands referred to, and thus prevent an enemy from ever possessing himself of rendezvous upon our very coast. At present our coast trade between the states bordering on the Atlantic and those bordering on the Gulf of Mexico is cut by the Bahamas and the Antilles. Twice we must, as it were, pass through foreign countries to get by sea from Georgia to the west coast of Florida.

"Santo Domingo, with a stable government, under which her immense resources can be developed, will give remunerative wages to tens of thousands of laborers not now upon the island. This labor will take advantage of every means of transportation to maintain the adjacent islands and seek the blessings of freedom and its sequence—each inhabitant receiving the reward of his own labor."

The words quoted are quite as true today as they were when employed by Ulysses S. Grant, December 5, 1870, in urging upon the Congress of the United States measures for a treaty for the annexation of the Republic of Santo Domingo to the United States, which had failed at the previous session to receive the requisite two-thirds vote of the Senate. They are, in fact, truer in their application to present day conditions than they were in 1870, for the American island of Porto Rico is overpopulated, with low wages, surplus labor, and agricultural depression as a necessary

result, although within a few hours' sailing is a country possessing, to again quote President Grant, "one of the richest territories under the sun, capable of supporting 10,000,000 people in luxury."

The government of Santo Domingo had voluntarily sought annexation, President Grant pointed out. The people were not capable of maintaining themselves in their then condition, and were obliged to look for outside support. He felt that Santo Domingo would become a large consumer of the products of Northern farms and manufactures, furnishing in return sugar, tobacco, coffee, tropical fruits, etc. He pointed out the value of Samana Bay as a port for European nations, and asserted that:

"The acquisition of Santo Domingo is an adherence to the 'Monroe Doctrine'; it is a measure for national protection; it is asserting our just claim to a controlling influence over the great commercial traffic soon to flow from west to east by way of the Isthmus of Darien; it is to build up our merchant marine, it is to furnish new markets for the products of our farms, shops and manufactories."

It is rather a habit with Americans to belittle the statesmanship of Grant. Yet he was something of a prophet. And it is well to remember that, on March 31, 1870, he transmitted "for consideration, with a view to its ratification, a treaty between the United States and the United States of Colombia for the construction of an inter-oceanic canal across the Isthmus of Panama or Darien, signed at Bogota on the 26th of January last."

Trading Something for Nothing

He was able to foresee that sane American control of the Dominican territory would have an immediate effect throughout the Caribbean, and might "settle the unhappy condition of Cuba and end an exterminating conflict."

His wise project rejected, Santo Domingo requested Spain resume control, but Spain, having passed the zenith of her day as a colonizing power, failed to accomplish what the United States might easily have done in those days, and the Dominican Republic was established along military lines.

That it, too, failed is not to be wondered at. No business was so profitable to the Germans as fomenting revolutions in Latin America, in which they could always count upon the interested assistance of a group of American dealers in arms and munitions. Most of the revolutions in the Dominican Republic, in Hayti and in other small American nations, like the last attempt at a revolution in Cuba, were of German origin. There is reason to hope that this sort of thing is done with, and that the professional patriot will find more difficulty in financing his schemes hereafter; that, in a word, there shall be less meddling for the purpose of dealing in doubtful national securities and fewer attempts to collect unjust debts by armed force.

Truly, the government of the Dominican

Republic, as constituted after the second failure of Spanish rule, was a poor thing. But it was their own, and we took it from them with merely the flimsy excuse set up in Captain Knapp's proclamation, and have given them nothing in return. When I took the liberty of asking the real reason for the American occupation of the country, addressing myself to El Supremo, and to such other American officials as might be expected to be in the know, two years ago, I was told that Germany had threatened to seize Samana Bay. True, we were at peace with all the world in those days, but we had learned that there were conditions under which we might be too proud to fight, and if overturning a few island governments to prevent them from being grabbed as submarine bases made the Administration feel more secure, it was no time to do more than record the fact.

Now the Time to Right a Wrong

It can hardly be alleged in these days, however, that the Caribbean islands are in grave danger from the German navy, and while we wrestle with reconstruction problems in our own country it seems no more than proper that we should begin to think about atoning for the small wrongs we have done to achieve a great right. And when we come to think about it all, it must be apparent that the present status of affairs in the Caribbean is a disgrace to the United States.

It may be that President Wilson has definite plans for the development of the Caribbean countries, that he means to restore to them the certain inalienable rights which were promulgated in Philadelphia, July 4, 1776. It may be that he intends to announce these plans at Versailles, and that Specialist No. 151 is to be his mouth-piece as heretofore he has been his agent.

One thing is certain. The American people will see to it that treaties between the United States and the smaller American republics shall not be treated like scraps of paper; that whatever injustices have been done shall be remedied; that the peoples of the New World, no less than the peoples of the Old World, shall have a square deal.

What, then, would be a square deal for Hayti and the Dominican Republic?

"If you ask the people of either political division of ancient Hispaniola you will find that the one example of a square deal uppermost in their minds is Cuba. There is, of course, a small and noisy minority in Cuba which occasionally demands annexation to the United States. Smaller and noisier minorities may be found in both Hayti and Santo Domingo who will also demand annexation. But the great body of intelligent people in both Hayti and the Dominican Republic look upon Cuba's government as the one to be patterned after, Cuba's treaty with the United States as the kind that permits free government with wholesome guarantees against external

complications.

And after years of military occupation by the United States these people are still hopeful. They have been aware that, with the European conflict raging, their troubles would seem too petty to hold the attention of the American public. They have been, are now, patient beyond the ordinary endurance of Latin-American peoples. They have no hate for the American, these oldest North Americans, not even for such military masters as Specialist No. 151, otherwise known as El Supremo; or for Smedley D. Butler, now brigadier general, U. S. M. C., lately chef de la gendarmerie de la République d'Haiti, with the rank and pay of general of division. They like the roads Americans build for them, they are willing to enter upon closer commercial relations, but they still desire a square deal. And most of them, the intelligent ones, associate the idea of a square deal with T. R., and will tell you they wish the Big Stick were in his hands again.

THE NEW YORK GLOBE

NOVEMBER 13, 1918

Jamaica Not Like Louisiana.

Editor Globe.—As a British West Indian, resident for the last eight months in the United States, five of these months being spent in New Orleans, I was very much interested in reading the letter of Frank T. Payton in this evening's issue.

I take Mr. Payton to be an American colored man, and with his position I am in much sympathy, for coming as I do from an island (Jamaica) where the colored man is on an absolute equality with the white, and where every civil liberty is given to black and mulatto on common ground with his neighbor from the British Isles, I have repeatedly regretted the unhappy status of the American Negro. It was because the situation of the colored man in the south is so unbearable that I left Louisiana with my family of two small daughters, resolute that my children should not grow up to feel ashamed of their skins, as they are made to do by discriminatory laws there.

But I ask myself why, if the American Negro is, as Mr. Payton says, able to govern himself, and do anything the white man does, he does not rouse himself to action? Why is the voice of the American Negro not more strongly raised in the land? I do not believe that Jamaicans would ever submit to such conditions as prevail here, and, sympathetic as I naturally am to colored peoples' troubles here, I continually ask why they do not insist on their rights, if they really wish to show themselves capable.

The fact that they do not so insist is one very good reason why American Negroes can take no part in the management of Africa. They take no such part here. They do not compel white folks here to grant their rights. They "lay down" under the stigma of color. Probably, indeed, inevitably, colored men will have a share in African government of the old German colonies; but those colored men will be Africans taught in the free political areas of British-governed regions, where the colored man has learned political responsibility.

T. A. BRADDON.

New York, Nov. 5.

WEST INDIAN LABOR SYSTEM DENOUNCED

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)

BASSETTERRE, ST. KITTS.—At the regular session of the Council of the St. Kitts-Nevis Universal Benevolent Association, held in April, a resolution was adopted declaring that the laboring class of the island of St. Kitts are in reality slaves to the land monopolists on account of the labor contract system; that the rottenness of this system is largely encouraged by the injustice of a law entitled the Master and Servants' Act of 1849. Unanimous protest was registered against this act and a pledge taken to make proper representation to the Home Government, so as to secure its abolition, "thereby doing our bit to make the world safe for democracy, by making democracy safe for the world and for the whole human family."

W. F. Solomon is the president of the Council and J. M. Sebastian is clerk. J. A. Nathan is secretary of the association.

SEGREGATION IN PORTO RICO

The New York News
With all the emphasis at our command we urge President Wilson to rescind the Segregation Army Order for Porto Rico. On the most reliable authority we are told that nothing has occurred since the days of Spanish oppression prior to 1898 that has caused such a wave of angry indignation throughout the Island as has the segregation, by order of the War Department, of the races in the quota of the National Army. According to B. F. Parden, a war correspondent, a protesting resolution was introduced in the Porto Rico House of Representatives by Manuel F. Rossy, a white member. The resolution passed unanimously both Houses of the Porto Rican Congress. Despite the petition to President Wilson the mixed Porto Rico regiment has been divided according to color. Setting forth in detail the injustice and inhumanity of forcing race segregation on a country wherein it was hitherto unknown, the resolution reads:

"To request from the President of the United States that no racial difference be made between Porto Rico privates and between officers.

"WHEREAS, it has just been completed in this island the recruiting of the 12,832 men that correspond to Porto Rico, and who will form part of the Great Army of the United States."

...."Which has for its duty the spread of democracy and the spirit of liberty throughout the world, and which will try to maintain the regime of democracy so that nations may govern themselves and men may live in happiness;

"WHEREAS there exists in this sense a tolerance which is greater than in any other country of the world, because the radical differences among men have never been taken account of here because there rests in the heart of our Porto Ricans here the spirit of a great democracy."

"And also the spirit of the doctrine preached by Jesus Christ in order that we may all be brothers for we are the children of God."

"THEREFORE, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of Porto Rico to request the President of the United States that no division be established on account of races between Porto Rican officers and soldiers who are to form a part of the great army of the United States, and it would neither be humane nor political to establish these differences which up to the present time they have not established themselves, nor wish to establish."

Porto Rico's colored citizens like their brethren in the States are choosing the better part and rallying to the colors. They are postponing the settling of these bitter scores till a more convenient season, till the Hun is no longer at the gates. These injustices will rankle in their breast until then. But they are storing up in their minds and hearts mountains of bitter spite and unrest, which they will then press for adjustment. The Latin temperament neither forgets nor forgives. The Army official who set up segregation in Porto Rico is reckoning without his host. There will be no more valiant fighter for Democracy in Europe than the Porto Rican. When Democracy is gained for Europe there will be a day of reckoning for Democracy at home.

United States Carries Curse of Race Prejudice to Island Home of Black Men, Now a Dependency.

Segregation Comes As New Trouble.

Unanimous Petition of House and Senate Disregarded; Porto Ricans Bitter—Division Hitherto Unknown.

(By F. B. Parden Returned War Correspondent From Europe).

San Juan, P. R.—A flame of indignation swept through the length and breadth of the island of Porto Rico on being told that the United States time-odious custom of racial separation in the army would be put in practice upon them.

A petition in the form of a resolution was introduced in the house of representatives by Mr. Manuel F. Rossy, one of the white members, setting forth in detail and eloquence the injustice and inhumanity of forcing discrimination on a country wherein it was hitherto unknown. The resolution was not only adopted unanimously by the lower house but passed the senate without a single dissenting vote.

Petition Ignored.

The resolution was presented to President Wilson and it was ignored. The Porto Rican Regiment that was formerly mixed was cut to pieces and men of color put in separate divisions; all the draftees have been separated and shoved into quarters according to color. Porto Rico has no higher appeal; it is bitter, indignant, but helpless.

Introduced by Republican Leader.

Representative Mr. Manuel Rossy, who introduced the resolution is the leader of the Republican minority in the lower house. In studied and telling language Mr. Rossy presented the reasons why Porto Rico objected to division in the army, based on col-

or. All the debate and communication in the legislature of that country is carried on in Spanish and much of the original dignity and beauty of the expressions is lost when translated into English. Here follows a translation of the resolution as it appeared in EL TIEMPO, leading daily paper of San Juan.

"To request from the president of the United States that no racial difference be made between Porto Rican privates and between officers.

"WHEREAS, it has just been completed in this island the recruiting of the 12,832 men that correspond to Porto Rico, and who will form part of the Great Army of the United States."

Cites Purpose of the War.

"Which has for its duty the spread of democracy and the spirit of liberty throughout the world, and which will try to maintain the regime of democracy so that nations may govern themselves and men may live in happiness.

"WHEREAS, the rumor has spread throughout the island that an order might be given out by the national executive for separating the Porto Rican officers and soldiers in groups as to whether they belong to the white or colored races.

"WHEREAS, this rumor has caused a great consternation in the minds of all Porto Ricans, because so far, fortunately, there exists no division among them, neither by racial origin nor by their religious beliefs, existing here therefore among our Porto Ricans there is but one fraternity

wherein we labor together for the welfare of Porto Rico.

"WHEREAS, there exists in this sense a tolerance which is greater than in any other country of the world, because the racial differences among men have never been taken account of here because there rests in the heart of our Porto Ricans the spirit of a great democracy."

Mr. Rossy Quotes Christ.

"and also the spirit of the doctrine preached by Jesus Christ in order that we may all be brothers for we are the children of God."

"THEREFORE, be it Resolved by the House of Representatives of Porto Rico to request the president of the United States that no division be established on account of races between Porto Rican officers and soldiers who are to form part of the great army of the United States, and it would neither be humane nor political to establish these differences which up to the present time they have not established themselves, nor wished to establish."

* * * *

Porto Rico has long been celebrated for the unity of the races there. Members of the darker race are in every branch of industrial and civil life. The largest department store in San Juan, the capitol, is owned by a Negro. The senior member of the senate, who has held his seat by four consecutive appointments by the president of the United States and by an open election, is a Negro. The judge corresponding to our circuit judge and having under his jurisdiction the metropolis of Porto Rico, San Juan, is a Negro. The commissioner of trades and labor is a Negro.

The mayors of numerous towns of Porto Rico are Negroes.

LET US FACE THE ISSUE

The Daily News
The "Colored Congress" for world democracy composed of less than 200 persons, under the auspices of the so-called National Equal Rights League holding its sessions at Washington concluded its labors yesterday after the emission of much fervid oratory, some hysteria, winding up with a public address and the election of eleven "delegates" to visit Versailles during the session of the Peace Conference. On the second day of the con-

gress, according to a decision reached during the first day's session on Monday, five delegates were chosen; this was increased to six and afterwards to seven. That eleven were finally chosen indicates the flexible and progressive disposition of those who attended the congress.

The public address "appeals to the Allied world for justice and democracy in the peace settlement at Versailles." It specifically demands the abolition of autocracy of Egypt, or of British South race against persons of color everywhere and the discontinuance of proscription based on color in every nation as an article of the peace agreement." The last and crowning legislative mandate requires each state to contribute a minimum of \$500.00, presumably for the expense of the eleven delegates.

The Daily Herald was founded and has been maintained at heavy cost by its promoters in the belief that the Negro race imperatively needed an organ for daily self expression and that would fearlessly discuss and present all issues it believed of moment or of vital interest to the race.

The Herald is in full accord with every declaration made by the congress in its denunciation of discrimination, proscription and oppression of people of color in all parts of the world and especially and particularly the Negro people of the United States of America. It is engaged in a daily fight to contribute to the destruction of color prejudice and every form of injustice in America.

We believe that capable,

able, fearless, far-seeing, conscientious, sane representative Negroes who should go to Versailles during the sittings of the Peace Conference might be able to wield some influence in the settlement of matters affecting the dark races whose disposition would be a legitimate subject for consideration by the Conference. As we understand it dark races who would be considered would not be the people of Egypt, or of British South African Colonies, or of the French African Colonies, or of Hawaii, or of the Philippines or of Porto Rico but those peoples whose status the arbitrament of the sword compels the Conference to determine. Every intelligent Negro in the United States knows that no government represented at the Peace Conference will tolerate any ventilation or consideration of the treatment of its subjects or citizens by the Conference. Any pleas or appeals made by Negroes from the United States will be required to be presented through the accredited and lawful representatives of this nation, just as any pleas or appeals from any class or element in England, France or Japan would be required to be presented through representatives from those governments.

How then do these men and women expect to secure the abolition of oppression and discrimination in America by appealing to people three thousand miles away who cannot listen? Do they expect President Wilson to champion their cause? or Mr. House? or

Mr. Lansing? or Mr. White?

The call is for a minimum of \$500.00 from each state. If every state contributes its minimum quota, \$24,000 will be realized. That amount and the many thousands that will be raised and never reported if used to fight unjust and oppressive legislation through the courts in this country would result in great achievements and would break down many oppressive, humiliating and discriminatory laws against the race.

Spent to send delegates to attempt or to pretend to attempt to secure a hearing by members of the Conference on the ills which affect the Negro in America will amount only to a joy ride for the "delegates."

More than that before a call is made on the poor and ignorant of the race for money the men and women selected should secure assurances from the State department that they can secure passports and will therefore be able to go France.

West Indian Troops Decorated With Medals for Gallantry and Devotion to Duty

Jamaica, W. I., April 12.—The following Contingent Notes are reproduced from the "West India Committee Circular of February 7:

"The Military Cross has been awarded to Captain Ralph Havelock Lewis Fink (Jamaica), First British West Indies Regiment, for gallantry and devotion to duty on Nov. 7th last.

"When two platoons of the battalion were covering the withdrawal of a squadron of Imperial Service Cavalry, and on the death of the squadron commander, Captain Fink took command, reorganized and successfully withdrew the whole party under heavy shell fire without loss. He showed high qualities of skill and leadership.

The Military Medal

"The general officer commanding in Palestine has awarded the Military medal to the undermentioned non-commissioned officer and men of the British West Indies Regiment for gallantry in action:

"Private C. Hyndman (Trinidad), for gallantry and devotion to duty on Nov. 7, 1917, when his company was covering the withdrawal of a squadron of

Imperial Service Cavalry from Two Tree Farm. Under heavy shell fire he repeatedly volunteered to run messages from the officer conducting the withdrawal to the advanced parties. He showed a fine example of courage and devotion to duty to those around him in trying circumstances.

"Private F. Puller (Jamaica), for gallantry and devotion to duty shown repeatedly whilst acting as a scout in patrol work in No Man's Land on the nights of 7th and 8th of November, 1917, when the main patrol at Atawineh Redoubt had failed to reach its objective. He volunteered to again go out, and brought back valuable information as to the enemy's movements.

"Lee, Corporal V. E. Johns, for conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty. On Nov. 7, 1917, he laid a telephone line from Dumbell Hill to Two Tree Farm, where he established a telephone station, remaining with the advanced troops covering the withdrawal of a squadron of Imperial Service Cavalry. Under heavy shell fire he remained on duty at his post in a particularly exposed position in the Wadi, and throughout the operations maintained telephonic communication with the battalion headquarters.

The Royal Club

"The West India Contingent Committee recently urged that the privilege of temporary membership of the Royal Club for officers from beyond the seas enjoyed by officers of overseas contingents—and consequently the British West Indies Regiment—might be conceded to officers domiciled overseas who are now serving in Imperial Regiment. We are glad of the club.

"Officers from the West Indies desiring to avail themselves of the club, which is better known as the Royal Automobile Club, should communicate with the secretary of the West Indian Contingent Committee, 15 Seething Lane, E. C. 3."

LIFE IN PANAMA

A recent number of the *Panama Star and Herald* sheds some light on the manners and morals prevalent in the Canal Zone and vicinity.

Under the heading of "Sport on the Atlantic Side," a letter from Colon extols the fine shape of many of the colored battlers in exhibition bouts and predicts a number of good bouts among them. Among the pugilists enumerated are Kid Bain, Jack Dowdy, the West Indian Kid, Steamboat Bill Walker and Young McCea. Baseball is also popular on the Isthmus and the colored players are conspicuous in that sport as well.

The merchants of Panama have their troubles with the Food Commissioner, and the Chamber of Commerce at a special meeting debated the rate of profit laid down by the administrator as insufficient. Steps were taken to secure a discus-

sion of the decree with officials of the government with a view of preparing new regulations.

The burial of a Zone policeman, described as "brown Jamaican," who was killed in a train wreck, brought forth the testimonial that he was a sober and intelligent officer and that his "workmanship" and conduct were excellent. The cortege was wholly composed of officers of the police and fire division including the chief, one lieutenant, seven white and sixteen colored policemen.

That color is sometimes a bar to employment, even in Panama, was shown by the following advertisement: "Wanted—Men conversant with English and Spanish, with newspaper experience, for editorial work. Only whites need apply in writing to Editor Star and Herald." As this paper prints its news in both English and Spanish, this requirement must be attributed to the American influence introduced into Isthmian affairs.

There is special mention made of the Silver Employees' Association noting an addition of 200 to membership in the district during one month. This classing of silver and gold employes is the method adopted to distinguish the colored from the white, the pay of the former being made in silver, while gold is reserved for the white Americans.

An official notice of meeting shows that the Triple Link Club represents the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, which would be composed of whites. On the other hand the meeting of the District Grand Lodge of Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria shows that fraternal orders of the race are also in evidence.

There is a suggestion that big oil deposits are likely to be discovered in the Isthmian republic and an exploring party is said to be raking the territory with a fine tooth comb to find them. All in all, Panama seems to be entitled to the conspicuous place it occupies on the map.